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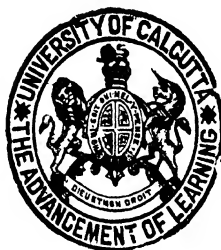
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THE SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF THE HINDUS AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THEIR CIVILIZATION

BY

NARENDRANATH LAW

It is one of the essentials for the right interpretation of the civilization of an ancient nation, and the writing of its history that the historian should be able to understand rightly the various elements that compose that civilization, or at least, be able to realize the lines of thought or feeling that can put him in sympathy with those elements that are either dimly apprehended or are beyond his comprehension. The interpretation of the religious and spiritual side of the Hindu civilization has, I think, suffered much in this respect, at the hands of the modern writers of the history of India. Deficiencies in the matter of interpretation of an ancient civilization are only natural because of the gulf that keeps it apart from the civilizations of the present day. In the case of the ancient Hindus, the value of the spiritual side of their civilization is very difficult to be realized by a man of the twentieth century because of the frame of mind that is generally developed in him under the influence of the current thoughts and environment. But it was this spiritual culture which was indissolubly bound up with every phase of the ancient Hindu civilization, and influenced and determined, to a very great extent, their manners, customs, and institutions, through which their thoughts and feelings found expressions. So long as this basic and central element of spiritual culture remains a sealed book to us, the value of the several branches of ancient Hindu literature connected more or less with this element will not be realized. Though

attempts are being made to master the Hindu spiritual lore theoretically and practically both in the east and the west, yet the historians by whose hands are drawn the pictures of the Hindu civilization which get currency throughout the world, are yet far from performing their task in unison with those who are able to master the actualities of spiritual life by following the ways laid down in the early works of the Hindus. So long as this unison between the writers of the history of our country and the adepts in the spiritual science is not established, the former are bound to wander about on the fringes of the spiritual civilization of our ancestors, and depict this basic element of their entire civilization, without which it can never be fully understood, in a way that would be far from just to its real value and importance. It is true that much progress has been made in the domain of comparative philology and the interpretation of the Vedas, in comparative mythology, and other branches of study relating to the interpretation of the Hindu religious books, and such studies have indeed yielded materials, which have been utilized by the writers of history for their purposes. The result has, in the main, been the emergence of a view-point that sees but superstition, magic, inane verbosity, or meaningless rites in the texts of the religious books from the Vedas downwards, which are looked upon as important only as relics or curios. But such an angle of vision can never bring about the realization of the actual spiritual life led by the Hindus and its results, unless it corrects itself by the other factor, without which our labours can never yield the desirable results, *viz.*, the light afforded by the *sādhana* of the Hindu spiritual adepts. It is then and only then that we can put ourselves at a standpoint that will see the right significance of the various bases of spiritual culture that escape our observation at present. With this object in view, I have ventured to make some observations intended to show that our present ways of investigation into the Hindu spiritual

culture which forms the keystone of the Hindu civilization are in my opinion deficient in certain respects yielding undesirable results in the interpretation of the Hindu civilization and the writing of its history.

The contact of western civilization with that of the Hindus has brought about in diverse directions, great changes, one of which is that in the domain of religious thought and belief. The principal factors that have contributed to this result are:—

(1) The sceptical, scientific spirit forming an adjunct of western education that leads one to refuse to take on trust anything that is not based on data regarded as sound by the rules of induction or deduction of European logic.

(2) The process of historical criticism that have dissected the religious works of the Hindus from the Vedas downwards, and shown according to the rules of historical criticism (*a*) their limited antiquity as opposed to their eternal existence in the forms in which we see them, (*b*) their gradual growth, (*c*) their interpolations which were made to serve various purposes, (*d*) the emergence of the various branches of Hindu religious literature in a certain chronological order in which the *Purāṇas* stand last (the composition of the *Māhātmyas*, forming part of the *Purāṇas*, not ceasing yet), and among which there is an internal connection by reason of the evolution of thought in the later branches of the literature from the former ones, and (*e*) the gradual evolution of the Hindu pantheon (as has also been proved in regard to other countries) showing an order of emergence of the objects of worship as opposed to the current beliefs.

(3) The mutual contradictions or dissimilarities between portions of religious books, of which, one cannot be supposed as true without considering the other to be in error *e. g.*, the dissimilarities or contradictions in the lists of royal dynasties in the *Purāṇas* which as the fifth Veda are believed to be infallible.

(4) The modern progress of the physical sciences or the modern geographical, astronomical, or other branches of knowledge prove certain statements of the religious books to be untenable. This appears quite natural if we take into account the time when the statements were made, but they militate against the orthodox belief as to those religious books.

(5) The criticisms, sometimes undeserved or even ruthless (by Jean A. Dubois, Talboys Wheeler, and others) against the manners, customs, and institutions of the Hindus, and the ideas and beliefs underlying them, carried on for the first time in the history of India their radical but fearless examination which destroyed or shook to the foundations many a fond idea or belief found in the Hindu religious books.

(6) The study of religious books in the light of historical criticism has shown that statements found in them may be such that they can be more satisfactorily accounted for by the exigencies, changes, or demands of religious thought than by the supposition of the actual occurrence of the incidents in the statements.

The influence of all these factors has been to leaven the minds of the people with a spirit of reasoning which checks the free play of belief in regard to religious matters. Now the question arises whether after conceding the various factors all that they can reasonably claim, would there be nothing left of the contents of Hindu religious books, beliefs, and practices, that can well hold up its head against the attacks? The lives and sayings of those who have attained success by proceeding along the ways prescribed by the *sanātana dharma* lead one to believe that even after leaving aside all that must be rejected, there must be left much that

How far the spirit
of scepticism is justified.

the acutest reasonings of scholars best equipped with modern secular scholarship cannot probe, because their conclusions leave out many premises of which they do not even dream, but which must be duly

noted to account for the actual results. Just as credulousness can be pushed too far, so also scepticism ; and what we regard as opposed to the laws of nature, or to philosophy may be quite in accord with the laws of philosophy beyond the comprehension of the present day scholar of the college and the laboratory. The result is that the prevailing attitude of the generality of the people of the present day towards the ways by which the highest spiritual life is prescribed as attainable in the Hindu *śāstras*, or towards those mortals who are widely recognised in India as successful in their pursuit of the ideals of the *śāstras* such as Rāmakṣṇa Paramahansa, or Trailaṅga Svāminī, is either of disbelief that dismisses them with curt phrases like 'lunatics' or 'mystics', and their experiences as 'visions' or 'hallucinations', or one of transient adulation that bestows praises on them for the moment and rests satisfied.

The present Hindu society has ceased to keep up the provision, that was zealously maintained by it of yore, for a regular supply of people from within itself to take to the third and fourth 'stages of life', namely *vānaprastha* and *yati*, in order that nothing might deter those who had climbed up to the highest rung of spiritual life from having suitable men to follow in their footsteps and keep alive in the country the spiritual truths and attainments that might be well-nigh or totally lost for want of adherents, who would have otherwise been unwilling to join them by sheer unbelief at the very outset. Whatever might be the defects of the 'stages of life' of early Hindu society, one thing is certain that without them, India could not have attained to the degree of spiritual culture that made it 'the land of *ṛṣis*' the home of realities of spiritual life that are still but enigmas to many other countries of the world.

Its spiritual culture is generally supposed to be one of the causes of its decline, in view, as is alleged, of the fact

Disorganization and disuse of 'stages of life' are responsible for the spiritual ebb among the Hindus.

that it made the people but philosophic imbeciles and dreamers, but the supposition, I think, fails to hit the right nail. India declined not because of its spiritual culture but because it could not keep its stream of spiritual life ungarbled and unabused, and could not practically act upon the scheme of individual and social life in which the material interests of the people and the country are not allowed to be overshadowed by the zeal for spiritual

The decline of material prosperity of the Hindus, not due to spiritual culture but to its abuse and misapplication.

and religious matters. There was a class of thinkers (*e.g.*, Kautilya) who saw that, of the four aims of human life *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, 'artha' is the basis upon which rest the three other aims, which cannot be achieved if the basis be shaky and unsound. In the human body, the legs are generally regarded as occupying a very low position in comparison with the brain; but if this low estimate of their value gives rise to the practical neglect of the two limbs causing them actual injury or destroying their efficiency, then the best brain has to succumb in competition with another that is not so hampered in the use of the legs, as the result of its own action, in giving effect to its thoughts. The same is the case in regard to the body politic. The spiritual and religious matters came to receive the attention of the Hindus at the expense of secular matters, and this is one of the principal reasons why the body politic of the Hindus had to give way in its struggle with that of the other peoples who prosecuted it in right earnest. The second 'stage

Material and spiritual responsibilities of the second 'stage of life'.

of life' *gr̥hasthāśrama* of a twice-born was the only stage that was meant to be principally devoted to the secular side of human life and society, and the practical duty of maintaining or increasing the strength of the body politic in economic, financial, political, and military matters and protecting it from evils, arising from within or without and threatening to destroy it rested on the people in this 'stage of life', though

suggestions, inspirations, additions to existing knowledge, and so forth, could come from those in any of the four 'stages' from the fourth caste, or from beyond the pale of Hindu society. It is clear therefore that if the people in the second 'stage of life' grow in course of time apathetic to worldly matters under the influence of a conception of life that relegates the acquisition, preservation, and improvement (*yoga-kṣema-sādhana*) of all secular matters relating to both the individual and the society to a neglectable position, and attaches the sole importance to religious and spiritual matters, though these latter cannot be maintained in a good condition without the former, the country is sure to deteriorate and succumb to powers that are more attentive to their material interests, and that would not hesitate to put on it their yoke of subjection out of consideration for its higher spiritual attainments. The Hindu society primirily looked to its members in the *grhassthāśrama* for the preservation and improvement in all matters; and if by gradual changes of thought which were not, or could not be corrected in time their conception of the ideal duties of this portion of their life be influenced in the majority of them by an all-absorbing aspiration for divine contemplation, and not for secular work which in the proper spirit may also be pursued as religion, the result cannot but be disastrous to society. The 'stages of life' with their proper allotment of duties were so planned that each had a particular contribution to make to the ideals of human life and to minister to the necessities of the society. If, by circumstances, the second 'stage' (as also, of course, any other stage) be diverted away by a misconception from serving the purposes for which it was intended, the whole body politic falls out of gear. It must not be supposed that I mean to say that people in this *āśrama* should be of materialistic tendencies, in order that they might cling to things of this earth to preserve and improve them. On the other hand, action accompanied with the thought and deliberation

necessary to make it fruitful, can be characterized by a spirit that can raise it to a very high level of moral and spiritual worth, and this is a view of life that was not unknown to the Hindus. Life with action as its objective pursued in the right spirit ought to be as a rule the peculiar feature of the second *āśrama*, relegating purely contemplative life to its appropriate place in the later 'stages.' In this way alone, can the strength of a society in all spheres of its activities be maintained and increased, and not by allowing this 'stage of life' to be engulfed by the later ones. The material degeneration of the Hindu body politic was due mainly to this encroachment of the ideal of life of the third and fourth 'stages' upon that of the second, and not due to the intrinsic inanity of their spiritual belief and culture, a conclusion that is generally drawn as a corollary to the supposition that spirituality, the outstanding trait of the Hindu character, was principally responsible for their decline in material prosperity, while really it was its misapplication as shown above. One feature stands out clearly, namely, that the organization of the four inter-connected *āśramas*, peculiar to India as it is, proved to be the instrument through which was expressed the peculiar Hindu psychosis with its deep spiritual tendencies and which, by passing every member of the three higher castes through the first two 'stages of life' with their duties and obligations discharged in compliance with the generally stricter discipline of those days, intended to make and keep him fit for the life that awaits him in the next two 'stages.' This organization, not found in any other country, served to maintain the regular supply of a large number of persons who were each given opportunities for entering the higher life under the direction of the adepts, who again could thus obtain greater opportunities of lifting a large number of persons from among the initiated to the highest rung of spiritual life. When the organization of *āśramas* was dislocated, there ceased to be a smooth and ordered flow of the stream. The adepts were in want of sufficient

desirable candidates as the result of the defective functioning of the first two *āśramas*, while the people in the several *āśramas* deviated in a much larger measure than formerly from the prescribed duties and obligations, which were wisely meant to contribute both to secular welfare and to spiritual benefit. Every body at any time of the first two stages of life thought himself fit for the spiritual life that was, as a rule, reserved for the last two stages, because spiritual life could easily be transformed into one of idleness without loss of public esteem, while duties for secular benefit meant physical and intellectual labour, which could not be very alluring, as they could not so easily be counterfeited and yet passed round as pure gold. I do not mean to say that any body below fifty, when usually the third stage commences, is unfit for spiritual progress; far from that. What I mean to say is, that a thing which may be successful in individual cases may not be proper and desirable as a rule generally applicable to a community, a race, or a nation. It is essential to every country that it should always possess a desirable proportion of its members in the second 'stage of life' or its equivalent, attentive to, or even zealous in the pursuit of their secular duties, and not apathetic to their performance; for upon them depends principally the material welfare of the country. This evil of confusion in the sequence which the duties of human life should generally follow, and the disorganization of the *āśramas* in other ways, brought about, on the one hand, a paucity of virile and earnest workers in the secular fields of activities, which was principally responsible for the material degeneration of the country, while on the other hand, they caused the failure of the country to conserve and at the same time keep distributed among a large number of people the highest spiritual attainments, which henceforth commenced to be confined to a lesser and lesser number of adepts, between whom and the people of the *grasthāśrama*, came to intervene a gulf

The evil consequences of disharmony between the 'stages of life,' material and spiritual.

which gradually became wider; while formerly it was the *gr̥hasthāśrama* that led on naturally to the next two stages, in which the spiritual masters were, as a matter of course, ready to take within their fold the newcomers, who had completed their first two stages which were generally calculated to train their mind and body for the next stage.

The consequence has been that at present there exist between the two classes a mutual mistrust and misunderstanding that have been heightened by the modern western spirit. This spirit faithful to the methods of western science appears to demand from the Hindus, 'if your adepts in *yoga*, *jñāna*, and *bhakti* have treasured up the highest truths, let them come, preach about, and demonstrate before the unbelieving masses the reality of their pretensions, just as the modern discoverers of truths in the physical sciences, instead of munching their truths in caves or cloisters, demonstrate before the wandering masses their discoveries in an intelligible form, or in their concrete and useful applications.' The aeroplane or the

The mode of cultivation of physical science radically different from that of acquisition of spiritual culture.

gramophone, the telephone, the telegraph, or the steam-engine leaves no room for doubt in the minds of the people that the western science has attained to a great height and is rising daily to higher heights, and that it is worth while spending time, labour, and money in learning the means by which the truths have been discovered and applied. Thus the people feel naturally attracted towards the sciences, which do not run the risk of being lost for want of learners, or of being confined to the fortunate few. There is much truth in these statements, which however miss a point that should be considered. Are spiritual and physical sciences of such a kindred nature that what can be demanded or applied to one can also be done to the other? The answer, I think, should be partially negative, and partially affirmative. Let us turn to the negative portion of the answer first. The cultivation of the spiritual science is essentially an inner

realization of spiritual truths, an uplifting of the whole man, a culture of the soul that tears asunder the veil that conceals from view the ultimate realities, a direct communion with the ultimate consciousness, of which the universe is but a manifestation. The learning of the physical science is not necessarily connected with the mental and moral nature of the man, and not dependent upon their uplift. A scientific man would not necessarily experience his moral depravity to be an obstacle in the way of mastering the physical sciences, for such a mastery has connexion only with the exercise of his intellect and not with his whole self. For this reason, a man cannot make much spiritual progress, even if he be put on the track, unless he purges his self of its evil qualities and worldly propensities. Next, as to the affirmative portion of the above answer, it should be stated that spiritual progress puts within the reach of the *sādhaka* certain powers, which may be utilized for spiritual benefit in view of the new vistas by which many things that are now objects of guesses or doubts become matters of certain knowledge, offering grounds for the solution of many problems of the super-sensual world, and steadying generally his belief in many directions; while, on the other hand, these powers are standing temptations to use them for selfish, worldly purposes, or even for working positive evil for selfish ends, which of course bring sooner or later the punishment in the downfall of the *sādhaka*. This abuse of the powers, which is so very likely to take place unless the learner is equipped by an elevation of his self and his desire for spiritual life higher than the stages at which the powers can be acquired (specially in these days of absence of preliminary training given by the first two 'stages of life') is one of the causes that make the adepts so very reluctant to admit as *celās* any and every body that may be animated by a passing desire to be put on the track. Besides, it means, to the *guru*, waste of time and much labour which could have been more beneficially utilized by him

if the disciple falls off in the midst of his journey. This is another deterrent. Exhibitions of the powers constitute the demonstrations that are demanded by the modern spirit; but these demonstrations are not altogether absent in these days, though they are liable to be misinterpreted or dismissed as products of too much credulity of the spectators. But yet there are several accounts of such manifestations of powers witnessed by the Europeans themselves with their characteristic observing habits, and sceptic attitude towards such manifestations, from which it cannot be denied that the realities were otherwise than as the accounts describe them. I leave out of consideration the accounts penned by Indian writers as they are likely to be taken at a discount in regard to the present question. I have no space for quoting from the European accounts, but suffice it to say that they relate not only to powers dominating the physique and the physical world, but also to those over the mind, which constitute the peculiar conquests of the *sādhakas* and which are but dimly seen through these occasional manifestations necessitated by the particular circumstances of each case. But as already mentioned, these powers come in the train of *sādhana*, and as they tend to be temptations on the path of the devotees, their proper place demands them either to be set aside, or utilized for further progress, but never to be used as instruments of achieving selfish ends. But even these manifestations, occasional and few as they are, are very often disbelieved; but they are the only material and visible evidences of the internal acquisitions of an adept; and as such an attitude fails to rouse a spirit of systematic enquiry, the gulf separating the spiritual culture from the man of to-day tends ever to increase, though of course there are movements at work, feeble though they be, aiming to bridge it over as far as possible.

PLATONISM IN SHELLEY

BY

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1.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLATONIC INFLUENCE ON THE MIND OF SHELLEY

The poets of the eighteenth century deified reason at the expense of imagination. The extraordinary development of philosophical speculation and scientific research exercised a great influence over their mind. It opened up before them endless visions of man's perfection attainable only through the fullest exercise of his intellectual powers.

This attitude of mind was reflected in their literature. Their "essays on criticism" and "on man," their reflective poems, their satires on contemporary manners, all owe allegiance to reason. Enthusiasm and passion—the emotional side of human nature—were banished from the realm of poetry as unrefined; culture was enveloped in an atmosphere of cold rationalism which, in course of time, grew stifling.

The reaction soon set in. There was gradually developed a tendency which sought to re-introduce into English life a sense of mystery and awe. "At countless points, the universe of sense and thought acquired a new potency of response and appeal to man, a new capacity of ministering to and mingling with his richest and intensest life."¹ The universe was no longer an "aggregate of mutually attracting atoms;" it was instinct with spirit. The dead cold weight of everyday life

¹ Age of Wordsworth—Herford.

was transmuted by the spiritual vision of romantic poets and philosophers and they could

“See a world in a grain of sand
And a heaven in a wild flower.”¹

Everything, however insignificant it might be, was “apparelled in celestial light.” “The glory and freshness of a dream” brooded over the whole universe. “The veil was lifted from its hidden beauty” and its familiar objects were clad with the evanescent hues of an etherial world. Nature became the outward vesture of spiritual truths too deep for expression. It was no longer inert, but a symbol for spiritual existences.

There still lingered strands of materialistic and deistic thought existing side by side with this newborn idealism, especially among the revolutionary and utilitarian group of thinkers. Wholly absorbed in the question of the advancement of the human race and its deliverance from bondage, they did not pay sufficient attention to the spiritual side of the human personality. They generally adhered to the old associationist school of thought and were but vaguely conscious of “a principle which in the vast sum of instances works for good and operates beneficially for us.”² They had not that power of spiritual vision which could discern the ideal pervading the outward world of phenomena.

Shelley lived in this age of transition from materialism to idealism. In his political opinions he was influenced by the thinkers of the French Revolution. Their favourite doctrines, the perfectibility of the human nature, the supremacy of reason over passion, the ascription of moral evil to the desolating power of positive institutions are all reproduced in his matchless verse; and in his early life the materialistic tendency of their philosophical thought made a lasting impression on his mind.

¹ Ideas of Good and Evil—Blake.

² Godwin.

Even from his boyhood, the poet was essentially a speculative philosopher. He was not satisfied with the traditional standpoint of view commonly accepted by men; he wanted to go deeper into the problems of existence and find out the reality underlying appearance. For he was always haunted by obstinate questionings and his heart ever gazed on the depth of the mystery which envelopes the Eternal and the Real.¹ While yet a boy he mused deeply on the lot of life.²

At that early age "Hume's essays were a favourite with Shelley and he was always ready to put forward in argument the doctrines they upheld."³ Materialism, he confesses, appealed to him by its sturdy opposition to the absurdities of the popular philosophy of mind and matter and its absolute freedom from the violent dogmatism which characterises orthodoxy.⁴ Traces of this early materialism are discernible in his essay "On a Future State" where mind and spirit is conceived as mere concomittants of matter, ceasing with its cessation.

Scepticism and materialism could not, however, satisfy Shelley. He had intellectually adopted the conclusions of Hume but "his imagination demanded the presence of a spirit of life throughout the universe and his heart craved for a communion with the spirit of love."⁵ "The leaf of a tree," says he, "the meanest insect on which we trample are in themselves arguments more conclusive than any which can be advanced that some vast intellect animates infinity."⁶ He believed in a spirit underlying the universe but could not adduce any proof for it; and it was in this state of mind that he began to study the works of Plato.

Shelley was one of the most assiduous of students; his diligence was exemplary and his erudition profound. A

¹ Cf. *Alastor*, ll. 20-23.

² Cf. *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, st. 5.

³ *Life of Shelley*—Hogg.

⁴ Cf. "On Life"—Shelley.

⁵ Cf. Mrs. Shelley's notes on *Alastor* and other poems.

⁶ Letter to Hogg—Jan. 3, 1818.

pocket edition of Plato, or Plutarch, or Euripides, without interpretation or notes, was his ordinary companion.¹ His poetic temperament was gratified by the rare union, which Plato exhibits, of close and subtle logic with the pythian enthusiasm of poetry.² "The irreverent many," says Hogg, "cannot comprehend the awe, the careless apathetic worldling cannot imagine the enthusiasm nor can tongue that attempts only to speak of things visible to the bodily eye, express the mighty emotion that inwardly agitated him, when he approached, for the first time, a volume which he believed to be replete with the recondite and mystic philosophy of antiquity: his cheeks glowed, his eyes became bright, his whole frame trembled and his entire attention was immediately swallowed up in the depths of contemplation."³ He would then walk forth dreamily along the road questioning infants whether they could tell him anything about pre-existence; and so firmly did he believe in man's power of recollecting incidents in his antenatal life that the apparent inability of children to answer his queries appeared to be mere "cunning attempts to conceal the truth that all knowledge is reminiscence."⁴ Plato was thenceforward his master. He moulded his opinions and developed his ideals regarding the universal spirit, the soul and other kindred subjects.

2.

THE UNIVERSAL SPIRIT

Introduction

The revolutionary thinkers of the eighteenth century rejected the God of the Hebrews. To them, embittered as they were by the oppressions of centuries, religion was always

¹ Life of Shelley—Hogg.

² "On the Symposium"—Shelley.

³ Life of Shelley—Hogg.

⁴ Life of Shelley—Hogg.

associated with cruelty and injustice. It was "a supernatural despotism based on terror and coercion." From the massacres sanctified by divine command in the Old Testament to the burning of heretics and unbelievers blessed by the clergy of the dark ages, its history was one long series of oppression. Moreover, the church was the perpetrator of the worst form of tyranny; it hampered all intellectual efforts, stifled the independent spirit of man and distorted his natural goodness.¹

Shelley was a republican who revolted against the wrongs of the world. His mind bitterly resented the oppressions which priests in their blind zeal had inflicted on the world; and he enthusiastically accepted the opinions of his fellow-workers. In the "Queen Mab" he gives a scathing description of the Hebraic conception of God. To him, God is as vengeful as almighty. Earth shudders at the sound of his voice and at his approach "the grave of nature yawns and swallows up the dauntless and the good." His votaries are cold-blooded slaves of tyrannous omnipotence. Their souls

" No honest indignation ever urged
To elevated daring, to one deed
Which gross and sensual self did not pollute ;"²

Faith is a python dragging on a foul and wounded train
of followers; and

" Words and shows...bind
The wailing tribes of human-kind ;"³

The proud defiance of Satan attracts his attention. "Milton's Devil as a moral being is far superior to his God even as one who perseveres in some purpose which he has

¹ Cf. Morley—Life of Voltaire.

² Queen Mab, VIII, 85-96.

³ Queen Mab, VIII, ll. 701-2.

conceived to be excellent, in spite of adversity and torture, is, to one who, in the cold security of undoubted triumph, inflicts the most horrible revenge upon his enemy not from any notion of inducing him to repent of perseverance in enmity but with the alleged design of exasperating him to deserve more torments."¹ And with him Milton's God is typical of the Hebrew conception of Divinity.

Shelley's dislike for this conception of God was responsible for his bitter denunciation of Orthodox Christianity. Christianity, specially orthodox Christianity, appeared to him to be an instrument of torture to crush the lofty rebellious spirits who dared to protest against its benumbing influence. It had completely stifled the independent aspirations of humanity, and

"In each human heart terror survives
The ruin it has gorged ; the loftiest fear
All that they would disdain to think were true ;
Hypocrisy and custom make their minds
The fanes of many a worship now outworn,
They *dare* not desire good for man's estate
And yet they know not that they do not dare." ²

The poets and philosophers of the eighteenth century were with a very few exceptions deists or materialists. They either regarded matter to be the only true reality, ignoring the very existence of the spiritual world ; or they gave equal importance to matter and spirit. Their God is the "Great First Cause" who creates the world and sets it rolling according to eternal immutable "laws of nature." He is not immanent in the world but exists apart, watching, as it were, His own creation. The mystic reaction against these doctrines was very feeble. The voice of William Law and his

¹ Defence of Poetry—Shelley.
Prometheus Unbound—I, 1, 618 *et seq.*

followers could scarcely be heard in the midst of the bustling noise of more robust argumentators.

Shelley was, however, a thinker of a different type. So far as his social and political opinions are concerned he closely followed the doctrines of the French Revolution; but its materialism could not satisfy his speculative mind. Nor could he accept the Deism which conceived of a God completely isolated from the world. He was an idealist and his religion was greatly influenced by the principles of Platonic philosophy.

Though keenly sensitive to the beauty of the outside world, Plato does not regard the physical to be real. All phenomena are fleeting and belong to the region of the becoming. They are real only in so far as they participate in the ideas underlying them. "Ideas are," therefore, "the only true existence. In the phenomena, the idea is never purely presented but always intermingled with its opposite; divided up into a plurality of individuals, hidden beneath the material veil."¹ Each of these ideas is something self-subsistent, but it can participate in and communicate with other ideas. They form a world of ideas and the highest of this series is the idea of the Good. It is the cause of science and of truth in so far as the latter becomes the subject of knowledge; it is "the universal author of all things beautiful and right, the parent of light and the lord of light in this visible world and the immediate source of reason and truth in the intellectual," and as light and right may truly be said to be like the sun and yet not to be the sun, so science and truth may be deemed to be like the good but not the good: it has a place of honour still higher.² The Good is identified with the Beautiful, and the primæval good is of unutterable beauty. "Beautiful as are both truth and knowledge, this other nature (the idea of the Good) must be esteemed as more beautiful than they; it is

¹ Zeller—Plato and the Older Academy.

² Republic, VII, 517B

a wonder of beauty.”¹ It is the ultimate reality, the spirit which pervades the world of ideas.

Shelley similarly regards the outside world of phenomena as mere vision. The only world real to him is the world of the spirit.

He may drink joy from the evanescent beauties of the outside realm of nature; but he is not captivated by them. On the contrary, he does not

“Heed nor see what things they be.”

For they are unsubstantial; mere stuff out of which the poet creates a spiritual world of imagination, of

“Forms more real than living man
Nurslings of immortality.”²

So real is this spiritual world that whenever Shelley wants to elucidate a physical fact he does not compare it with a similar physical phenomenon but tries to explain it by a mental parallel. He always seeks in what he sees the manifestation of something beyond the present and tangible object.³ In the Hymn to Intellectual Beauty the inconstant visits of the spirit is compared to “Clouds in starlight widely spread.” But even such a rare phenomenon cannot satisfy the poet; he must try to illustrate it further by comparison with “memory of music fled.” In the “Prometheus Unbound” the sun-awakened avalanche gathers on the mountain-tops,

“Flake after flake in heaven-defying mind
As thought by thought is piled till some great truth
Is loosened and the nations echo round
Shaken to their roots as do the mountains now.”⁴

¹ Republic, VI, 509 A.

² Prometheus Unbound—I, 1, 740-50.

³ Letter to Peacock—Nov. 9, 1818.

⁴ Ibid, II, 3, 37-42.

And in the Indian Serenade

“The champak odours fail
Like sweet thoughts in a dream.”

In each instance Shelley is not perfectly at home when he deals with the physical world; he is satisfied only when he has been able to establish a mental parallel and thus elucidate it.

The “Prometheus Unbound” is steeped in the same idealism. Its action is placed in a world of spirit in which the physical only symbolises the spiritual. Asia and Prometheus are not *persons*; they are symbols of love and the spirit of humanity. The solemn bier of Adonais is similarly surrounded by a band of

“ * * * * * quick dreams
The passion-winged ministers of thought,”

who mourn their lot round his cold heart.
For the poet believes that,

“Throughout the varied and eternal world
Soul is the only element, the block
That for uncounted ages has remained.
The moveless pillar of a mountain’s weight
Is active living spirit. Every grain
Is sentient, both in unity and part.”¹

and to him

“This world
Of suns and worlds and men and beasts and flowers
With all the silent or tempestuous workings
By which they have been, are, or cease to be,
Is but a vision.”

¹ Queen Mab, IV, 139-44.

While

“ Thought
Alone and its quick elements, will, passion,
Reason, imagination cannot die.”¹

The “thought” of Shelley is, however, quite different from the “idea” of Plato. Plato always points out that the pattern of the world (*i.e.*, ideas) is eternal, “the world has been framed in the likeness of that which is apprehended by reason and mind and is unchangeable;” and it is this eternity which distinguishes ideas from phenomena.² In the Parmenides³ he himself suggests that ideas may be subjective having no existence outside mind, human or divine, but sets it aside as false. On the contrary, he represents them as absolute substances, the efficient causes of things, having an existence of their own outside mind. The “thoughts” of Shelley are, however, merely mental concepts; the unchangeable forms of human nature (corresponding to the idea of man in Plato) for instance, are represented by the poet as existing in the mind of the Creator; they have no independent existence of their own.⁴

Shelley's Conception of the Universal Spirit

Like Plato, Shelley even in his earlier poem *Queen Mab* recognises “a Soul of the Universe, an intelligent and necessarily beneficent actuating principle, a vast intellect which animates infinity.”⁵

“Throughout these infinite orbs of mingling light
Of which yon earth is one, is wide diffused
A spirit of activity and life
That knows no term, cessation and delay;”⁶

¹ *Hellas*, ll. 775-85.

² 132 B.

³ Letter to Hogg—Jan. 3, 1811.

⁴ *Timæus*—Plato.

⁵ *Defence of Poetry*

⁶ VI, 146-149.

It is one ;

“The Eternal spring
Of life and death and happiness and woe
Of all that chequers the phantasmal scene
That floats before our eyes in wavering light.”¹

Every thing except the *one* spirit is unreal ; the world is a mere “ phantasmal scene,” a vision flickering before the mind of men.

He recognises no god—no creative deity ; only a spirit co-eternal with the universe ; a passive principle which pervades the world of nature and man but cannot realise itself by creating, *i.e.*, transforming its environment. Commenting on the lines “ There is no God ” in *Queen Mab*, the poet himself affirms that “ this negation must be understood solely to affect a *creative* deity. The hypothesis of a pervading spirit co-eternal with the world remains unshaken.” The poet does not, however, always cling to this view ; in *Queen Mab* itself the universal spirit appears as

“ the all sufficing power, necessity, the mother of the world,”²

“ active steadfast and eternal ; ”

it presides

“ in the storm of change that ceaselessly
Rolls round the eternal universe and shakes
Its undecaying battlements ; ”³

and guides its manifold activities. If necessary, it can “ blot with re-creating hand, the blood-stained charter of all woe from the book of the earth.”⁴ It is consequently an active principle creating and transforming the universe. In fact the only definite idea regarding the spirit of nature which we can find in *Queen Mab* is that of an all-pervading principle.

¹ VI, 190-93.

² *Queen Mab*, VI, 196.

³ *Queen Mab*, VI, 160-62.

⁴ *Queen Mab*.

The rest is confusion ; Shelley has not, as yet, arrived at any clear conception regarding the ultimate reality. He is trying to reconcile his intellectual adherence to the revolutionary school of thought with his spiritual yearning for an universal soul.

In the Revolt of Islam this spirit pervades the whole world and its worshipper finds

“ His smile divine when the calm sea was bright
With silent stars and heaven was breathless with delight.”

But co-ordinately with this all-pervading spirit Shelley describes two other warring principles.

“ Two powers o’er mortal things dominion hold
Ruling the world with divided lot
Immortal, all-pervading, manifold
Two genii, equal gods.”¹

These are the principles of Good and Evil who determine the course of events in the world. The Poet is still searching for a satisfactory conception of the ultimate reality which will explain the existence of evil in the world.

By the time that he wrote the Hymn to Intellectual Beauty, Shelley had completely freed himself from these Manichian and Godwinian conceptions. He has now no doubts regarding the spirit of the Universe.

It is Spiritual Beauty, the awful shadow of which floats unseen among men and consecrates with its own hue all the objects of the world ; it transforms them with its own radiance.

“ Its light alone—like mist o’er mountain driven
Or music by night-wood sent
Through strings of some still instruments
Or moonlight on a midnight stream
Gives grace and *truth* to life’s unquiet dream.”²

¹ Canto I, st. 25.

² Hymn to Intellectual Beauty, st. 3.

The world of existence becomes true and real and beautiful only by participating in the ideal and when man loses sight of it the world becomes

“A dim vast vale of tears vacant and desolate,”

so that

“Fear and dream and death and birth
Cast on the daylight of the earth
Such gloom ”

that “the grave becomes like life and fear a dark reality.”¹

With the gradual development of his mental powers Shelley came to see that perfect intelligence results in perfect love: the spirit of Intellectual Beauty is also the spirit of love. It is the essence of all things—this Intellectual Beauty and all-embracing Love. This is the one true reality the all-absorbing, ever-living, sole-existent substance.

“Thou,” rapturously sings the poet,

“Thou art the radiance which where ocean rolls
Invest’st it ; and when the heavens are blue
Thou fillest them ; and when the earth is fair
The shadow of thy moving wings imbue
Its deserts and its mountains, till they wear
Beauty like some bright robe ; Thou ever soarest
Among the towers of men.”²

In the Ode to Naples (1820) he invokes the same spirit.

“Great spirit, *deepest love*
Which rulest and dost move
All things which live and are within the Italian shore.
Who sittest in thy star o’er oceans’ western floor ;
Spirit of Beauty!”

The poet recognises the “spirit of Beauty” to be the same principle as that of “deepest love.” So thoroughly are

¹ *Ibid.* st 4.

² Prince Athanase.

the two identified in the mind of Shelley that he seldom refers to this dual aspect of the all-pervading soul of the Universe. And *love*, all sustaining love, is to him the *one* reality. It illumines earth and heaven, the deep ocean and the sun-less caves and clothes with brightness the dim shapes of the earth; and ever and anon the poet bursts forth into a pæan of praise to that all-eternal principle of love which pervades the universe and whose

“Plastic stress

Sweeps through the dull dense world;”

and bursts

“In *its beauty* and its might

From trees and beasts and men into heaven’s light.”

It is

“That *light* whose smile kindles the universe

That *Beauty* in which all things work and move

That Benediction which the eclipsing curse

Of birth can quench not, that *sustaining Love*

Which through the web of being blindly wove

By man and beast and earth and air and sea

Burns bright or dim as each are mirrors of

The fire for which all thirst.”²

In this identification of the Universal soul with love Shelley was greatly influenced by Plato’s Symposium which he regarded to be “one of the most valuable pieces of all antiquity, whether we consider the intrinsic merit of the composition or the light it throws on the inmost state of manners and opinions among the ancient Greeks.”³

Plato in his *Timæus* and his book of *Laws* passes on to the conception of a personal God. The idea of Good now becomes a being, self-conscious and self-regulated, creating and ordering the Universe. “To us,” says Zeller, “it may

¹ *Adonais*, st. 43.

³ Letter to Godwin—July 25, 1818.

² *Ibid.* st. 54.

certainly sound incomprehensible that a theological concept like the concept of the Good should be positively declared, to be the highest active energy and reason. We are accustomed to conceive of reason only in the form of personality which is impossible to attribute to an idea."¹ The ancients however had no such distinct concept of personality and Plato could therefore invest the idea of the Good with qualities like power, activity and reason. The modes of thought have, considerably changed with the flight of time and a philosopher of modern days cannot ignore the question of personality. His God is either personal or impersonal. There is no *via media* for him. The Universal spirit of Shelley is non-human. The poet did not create his God in man's image and after his likeness. His all-pervading soul has no human feeling, it is not swayed by sudden likes and dislikes.

"All that," says he,

"All that the wide world contains,
Are but thy passing instruments, and thou
Regard'st them all with impartial eye.
Whose joy and pain thy nature cannot feel
Because thou hast not *human sense*
Because thou art not *human mind*." ²

"..... The caprice
Of man's weak will belongs no more to thee
Than do the changeful passions of his heart
To thy unvarying harmony."³

But personality, in the modern sense of the term, it has. It is Intellectual Beauty, the spirit which consecrates the whole universe with its hues, its plastic stress in an active

¹ Zeller—Plato and the Older Academy.

² Queen Mab, VI, 214-19.

³ *Ibid.* VI, 200-203.

transforming influence which compels all new successions to the forms they wear. It tortures

“The *unwilling* dross that *checks* its flight
To its own likeness, as each mass may bear.”¹

This act of overcoming opposition and changing objects according to an ideal consciously pursued is possible only of a person (in the philosophical sense of the term). No abstract idea can be invested with such qualities of will and intelligence. Even more prominently is the element of conscious intelligent self-realisation present in the Prometheus Unbound. Asia, the Universal Spirit of Love pervading the whole world, is actuated by a feeling of sympathy for the spirit of man: she transforms the universe and actively brings about the redemption of Humanity.

The all-pervading soul is, therefore, to Shelley a spirit of intellectual beauty and love unswayed by human passions and emotions, yet, at the same time, consciously regulating in accordance with its intellectual nature its own efforts for self-realisation.

3.

THE SOUL

Shelley's Conception of the Physical and the Spiritual

The views of life held by Shelley and Plato are influenced by their attitude towards the material world. With Plato the life of the body is a mere darkness;² it is only a hindrance to the soul in her search of absolute truth, justice and beauty.³

With Shelley, similarly, life is a painted veil; it is

“A dome of many coloured glass
Staining the white radiance of Eternity.”⁴

¹ Adonais, st. 43.
Phaedo, 64-65.

² Phaedrus.
³ Adonais, st. 62.

Again

“ Adonais is not dead, he doth not sleep
He hath awakened from this dream of life
'Tis we, who lost in stormy visions keep
With phantoms an unprofitable strife.”

The life of the body is not true life; it is a dream, a vision, a fruitless struggle. It does not even reveal truth; on the contrary, it is a veil and a hindrance.

In the seventh book of the Republic Plato gives us a picture of men, imprisoned in a cave, who behold only shadows of reality thrown vaguely on the wall. In the same book Socrates proceeds to explain that the prison house in the allegory is the world of sight above which man has to rise in order to gain a vision of absolute truth. This vivid picture exerted a great influence over the poetic imagination of Shelley. In 1818, we find him comparing the world to “a cavern huge and great which we all tread.” In the “Triumph of Life” he refers to the same cavern high and deep where the soul, at its birth, lies reposing. In both Plato and Shelley there is an emphatic insistence on the superiority of the life of the spirit over the life of the flesh.

Plato dissociates the soul from the body. According to him “the soul when using the body as an instrument is dragged by it to the region of the changeable and wanders and is confused;”¹ and therefore we should “see her as she really is and not as we now behold her, marred by communion with the body and other miseries.”²

Similarly, Shelley describes how

“ From the mute and moveless frame
A radiant spirit rose
Instinct with inexpressible beauty and grace
Each *stain* of earthliness

¹ Phaedo, 79.

² Republic, X, 611.

Had passed away ; it reassumed
 Its native dignity and stood
 Immortal amid ruins.”¹

and attempts to distinguish between the soul and the body. The soul is “instinct with beauty and grace” only when it is dissociated from each *stain* of the earthliness of the body ; it aspires to heaven and pants for its heritage while the body

“ For a time the unwilling sport
 Of circumstance and passion struggles on
 Fleets through its sad duration rapidly.
 Then like a useless and worn out machine
 Rots, perishes and passes.”²

The Immortality of the Soul.

When viewed from this standpoint the soul, according to Plato, in its true nature, is without end or beginning. It cannot be full of variety and difference and dissimilarity nor can it be compounded of many elements. It is immortal and self-subsistent.

In the earliest stages of his career, Shelley held views which were quite antagonistic to this view of Plato. He was, at that time, completely under the influence of the materialistic philosophy prevalent in his age. For him, it was then difficult, if not impossible, to believe that the soul is immortal.

“Some philosophers,” says he, “and those to whom we are indebted for the most stupendous discoveries in the physical science suppose that intelligence (and therefore the soul) is the mere result of some combination among the particles of its objects.” As a logical consequence of this theory he holds that “mental powers increase and fade with those of the body and

¹ Queen Mab, I, 130-36.

² Cf. *Ibid.* ll. 148-56.

even accommodate themselves to the most transitory changes of our physical nature;" so that as soon as our body becomes inanimate "sensation and perception and apprehension are at an end" and even if life and thought (*i.e.*, the spirit) differ from everything else, it does not follow that they survive any period beyond which we have no experience of their existence.¹

Nor does the problem of future reward and punishment have any bearing on the question. He definitely rejects the Platonic theory that the soul must be immortal because "if death had been the end of all, the wicked would have had a good bargain in dying for they would have been happily quit not only of their body but of their own evil together with their souls."² According to Shelley even if there be a future state it is not necessarily one of reward or punishment.

Such considerations, therefore, compelled him to accept the conclusion that the human soul does not exist after death and "there are no grounds for supposition that we shall continue to exist after our existence has apparently ceased."³

In course of time, Shelley changed his opinions completely. He now admits that "the shocking absurdities of the popular philosophy of mind and matter, its fatal consequences in morals and its violent dogmatism had early conducted him to materialism."⁴ For this "materialism is a seducing system to young and superficial minds; it allows its disciples to talk and dispenses them from thinking." But he has become discontented with this standpoint of view and come to recognise that man is not an automaton, an equilibrated system of physical forces; he is, on the contrary, "a being of high aspirations disclaiming alliance with transience and decay, and incapable of imagining to himself annihilation;" in him there is "a spirit which is at enmity with nothingness and

¹ On a Future State—Shelley.

² *Phaedo*, 107B.

³ On a Future State—Shelley.

⁴ "On Life"—Shelley.

dissolution. This is the character of all life and being."¹ And his earliest poem "Queen Mab" describing as it does the life of the soul in a spirit world where in companionship of the fairy Queen Mab she reviews the past and looks forward to the future, is indicative of the change that had come over his opinions. Similarly in "The Revolt of Islam," the poet describes how after death the soul of the child stood

“ * * A winged thought
Before the star-shining spirit
The better genius of this world's estate.”²

The belief in the immortality of the human soul soon became so strong in Shelley that Death lost its reality. "It is a modest creed," says the poet,

“ It is a modest creed and yet
Pleasant if one considers it
To own that death itself must be
Like all the rest, a mockery.”³

This modest and pleasant creed was gradually developed into a settled conviction. The dead do not die but awaken from the dream of life. Fear and grief no longer convulse and consume them; "that unrest which men miscall delight" cannot touch them for they are secure from the contagion of the world's stain and have "outsoared the shadow of our night."⁴

According to Plato "the souls do not return into the world-soul after death; but like ideas they have a relative existence of their own; particular souls depend upon the Universal Soul but have also a self-dependent individuality." For "when death attacks a man the mortal portion of him dies but the immortal retires at death and is preserved safe and sound."⁵ Elsewhere

¹ *Ibid.*

² Bk. XII, st. 31.

³ The Sensitive Plant, Conclusion, st. 4.

⁴ Adonais, st. 39-40.

⁵ Phaedo 106,

he speaks of the rewards and punishments meted out to individual souls after their death. He goes even further; not only do souls retain their individuality after death but they are re-born according to their own actions in the past life. In *Timæus*¹ and the *Republic*² we have descriptions of how souls transmigrate, passing into the bodies of philosophers, kings, women and even animals which may "resemble them in the nature they have acquired."

In the earlier stages of his career Shelley conformed to the same view. He holds "that nothing can be annihilated but everything in nature is in a continual change" and therefore "neither will the soul perish...in a future existence it will lose all consciousness of having formerly lived elsewhere, will begin life anew, possibly under a shape of which we have no idea."³ This belief in the immortality of the individual souls Shelley strengthens by the Platonic argument that a thing can never pass into its opposite.⁴ The theory that "from *nothing*, *nothing* can come, to *nothing*, *nothing* can return" is only a variation of this idea.⁵ From it the poet comes to the conclusion that Death is only a suspension of intellect and we cannot regard these moments when the intellect is suspended as positive evidences of the soul's annihilation. In "the Revolt of Islam" the souls of Laon, Cythna and her child do not revert to the universal spirit, they retain their individuality and rejoice in their happy union. They even recollect their past experience in the world below and are absorbed in a trance of wonder.⁶

But Shelley soon develops a new line of thought. The poet is vividly conscious of a universal mind; its mighty streams flow silently on through the vast world; and birth only "wakes this universal mind" "to *individual* sense of

¹ 91 *et seq.*

² X, 617.

³ Letter to Elizabeth Hitchner—June 20, 1811.

⁴ *Phædo*, 102A.

⁵ Letter to Elizabeth Hitchner—June 20, 1811.

⁶ Bk. XII.

outward things.”¹ The human soul is only a portion of the Oversoul ; it is a ripple in the stream of the eternal mind. During its connection with the body it is subjected to stormy visions and phantoms. “The words I, you, they, are merely marks employed to denote the different modifications of the same mind ” and whenever we have an intense and vivid apprehension of life we feel as if our “ nature were dissolved into the surrounding universe ” or as if “ the surrounding universe were absorbed into our being.”² Similarly, on the death of the body, the soul is dissolved into the surrounding universe and becomes one with its spirit. It flows

“Back to the burning fountain whence it came,
A portion of the Eternal.”³

The individual is made one with nature, his voice is heard in her music, his presence is felt and known in her handiwork. He is no longer confined in space and time but co-exists with all space and time ; and becomes

“ * * A portion of the loveliness
Which once he made more lovely.”⁴

For to the poet

“ The one remains, the many change and pass
Heaven’s light for ever shines, earth’s shadows fly.”⁵

Shelley could not, however, completely free himself from the influence of Plato. Even in his later poems we can discern traces of Platonism. He still plays with the theory of the transmigration of the Soul. In “ the Lines with a guitar ” the

¹ *Daemon of the World*, II, 504 *et seq.*

² “ On Life ”—Shelley.

³ *Adonais*, st. 38.

⁴ *Cf. Ibid.* st. 42-43.

⁵ *Ibid.* st. 52.

guardian spirit Ariel

“ From life to life must pursue
Your happiness ;”

while in “ Hellas ” the souls are represented as

“ Through birth’s oriental portal
And death’s dark chasm hurrying to and fro ;”

and Adonais arrives before the thrones of “ the inheritors of unfulfilled renown ” the great minds of the world who could not develop their powers owing to their early death. They have each an individuality of their own, “ throned in dazzling immortality ” a personality which has not been merged in the all-pervading spirit of the Universe.

Plato was of opinion that the creator “ created individual souls after the pattern of the Universal ” and “ having created them assigned each soul to a star.” He who lives well during his appointed time in the world below would “ return and dwell in his native star and have a blessed and congenial existence.”¹ Shelley makes a splendid use of this fancy in the Adonais where the comrades of Keats invite him to assume “ his winged throne ” which had for a long time “ swung blind in unascended majesty ”² bereft of its lord and presiding spirit ; and it is from this sphere erstwhile “ silent alone amid an heaven of song ” that

“ The soul of Adonais like a star
Beacons from the abode where the immortals are.”³

The Pre-existence of the Soul

In Platonic philosophy the doctrine of the Immortality of the soul is closely associated with its pre-existence. If it is impossible to imagine the soul as not being (non-existent)

¹ Tim., 42.

³ *Ibid.* st. 55.

² Adonais, st. 54.

this must equally hold good of the past as well as of the future. In Plato's opinion they hold together and accordingly in *Phaedrus* and other dialogues he vividly describes the life of the soul previous to its birth holding high converse with the gods and participating in the beatific visions of the absolute realities.

Shelley similarly holds that "If there are no reasons to suppose that we have existed before that period at which our existence apparently commences then there are no grounds for supposition that we shall continue to exist after our existence has apparently ceased."¹ The poet thus recognises the close connection between the two theories of the Pre-existence and the Immortality of the Soul. He also believes in the Unity of the whole universe and regards the human soul as a portion of the eternal spirit. It must therefore have some share of the nature of God and be as everlasting as the Universal soul itself. It has no end nor any beginning; it existed previous to its physical birth and will exist after its physical death. In his poems Shelley is a thoroughgoing Platonist. His prince Athanase is haunted by "the memories of some ante-natal life" which "make this where he now dwelt a penal hell."² His Cenci

"Does not feel as if he were a man
But like a fiend appointed to chastise
The offences of some unremembered world."³

In *Epipsychidion* he is sure that

"In the fields of immortality
My (his) spirit should have worshipped thine
A divine presence in a place divine."⁴

¹ On a Future State—Shelley.

² Part I, 91-92.

³ IV, 1, 161-62.

⁴ ll. 133-35.

The soul of individual man has, according to Shelley

“ Had elsewhere its setting
And cometh from afar.”

The Doctrine of Reminiscence

In this ante-natal state of existence, the soul, says Plato, “ beholds justice and temperance and knowledge absolute, not in the form of generation or of relation which men call existence but knowledge absolute in existence absolute. After birth she has recollections of these things which she saw following the gods (*i.e.*, in her ante-natal state) and all knowledge and all enquiry is but this recollection. When the soul is thus initiated into the mystery of recollection she forgets earthly interest and becomes rapt in the divine.”¹

Shelley shares in the same belief. In *Epipsychidion* the emotion which the poet feels for Emilia seems like “ Echoes from an ante-natal world.” In “*The Triumph of Life*” when he gives an allegorical description of infancy he refers to

“ A gentle trace
Of light diviner than the Common Sun
Shed on the common earth.”

According to him, the infant soul just weaned from her glorious existence before birth still retains mystic recollections of her past life, recollections which transform the whole universe and clothe it with beauty and splendour. At that stage of life those shadowy recollections are

“ * * Woven into one
Oblivious melody confusing sense.”

The soul then loses sight of all mortal interests, her sense is bewildered and she moves about in worlds not realised.

¹ *Phaedrus*, 249.

She is no longer of the earth but soars into regions of heavenly bliss and is completely absorbed in the divine. These

“Obstinate questionings,
Of sense and outward things”

are of the very nature of the human soul, they are innate in its constitution.

But neither Shelley nor Wordsworth goes any further. They do not build upon these vague instinctive intimations any elaborate scheme of epistemology.

With Shelley the individual soul is a spark from the divine spirit. She shares in its eternity and has neither any beginning nor any end. For a short space of time she has to be born in the body; a birth which makes her liable to endless conflicts with shadowy phantoms. She has even in her physical existence glimpses of the visionary world where she existed before her birth and when death intervenes she quietly relapses to the Universal spirit and becomes one with nature.

4.

THE DOCTRINE OF LOVE

Love plays a very prominent part in Platonic Philosophy. It is, to a certain extent, the very corner-stone of his speculations. It is often identified with the philosophic impulse; “the striving for the representation of absolute beauty—the struggle to inform the finite with the idea by means of speculative knowledge.”¹

Plato’s doctrine of Love finds its fullest expression in two of his dialogues, *viz.*, the Symposium and the Phaedrus. The Symposium begins with a lament that “no one has ever dared worthily to hymn love’s praises. It was therefore resolved

¹ Zeller—Plato and the Older Academy.

that each member of the assembly should deliver an address in praise of love. According to them "Love is omnipresent, it is not merely an affection of the human heart towards the beautiful; but great, wonderful and universal is the deity whose empire extends over all things divine and human." It is of two types—the higher and the lower. The higher type is that "which is of youth's" and there is nothing of wantonness in it; it is of the soul alone; the lower type "loves the body rather than the soul and is not stable. But when the bloom of youth which he is desiring for, is over, he takes wing and flies away."

The higher form of love is the source of the greatest good. "For the principle which ought to guide men who would nobly live is best implanted by love. Honour and courage, love, of his own nature, infuses into the lover."¹

Love is the first fruit of the soul's reminiscence of its existence before birth. Plato points out that the recollections of the ideas we had previously experienced in an ante-natal life is the basis of all knowledge. Few, however, can have any adequate remembrance of them. Moreover wisdom and other ideas have no visible images while beauty being the lovelier is also palpable to sight. The corrupted do not easily rise out of this world to a vision of true beauty in the other but "he who has been the spectator of many glories in the other world is amazed when he sees any one having a godlike face and form which is the expression of divine beauty; and at first a shudder runs through him and the old awe steals over him." Love engrosses his whole personality and "when separated from this beautiful object he is maddened and pained while at the recollection of beauty he is again delighted. He forgets everything even the rules and proprieties of life and is rapt in the beloved."²

In the pursuit of beauty, which Plato calls love, he recognises several stages. He who would proceed aright

¹ Symposium.

² Phaedrus.

in this matter should begin in youth to visit beautiful forms—love one such form only. Soon he will perceive that the beauty of one form is akin to the beauty of another and recognise that beauty in every form is one and the same. He will, then, abate his violent love of one form and become a lover of all beautiful forms. From the physical the lover will gradually rise to the spiritual plane; he will discover that the beauty of the mind is more honourable than the beauty of the outward form. In the next stage he will contemplate and see the beauty of laws and institutions. At last when he comes towards the end he will suddenly perceive a nature of wondrous beauty—beauty absolute and everlasting which, without diminution and without increase or any change, is imparted to the overgrowing and perishing beauty of all things. This is divine beauty unclogged with the pollutions of mortality and all the colours and vanities of human life, beholding which man becomes the friend of God and immortal.

Like Plato, Shelley recognises the universal influence of love. "This is," says he, "the bond, the sanction which connects not only man with man but with everything that exists."¹ This thought is a sort of refrain of all his poems. In the ideal world of future humanity

"All things are recreated and the flame
Of consentaneous love inspires all life."²

Love fills the blue heavens and invests with its radiance the sleepless waves of the sea; its shadow clothes the deserts and mountains as with a robe of brightness. It soars among the towers of men and influences them strangely. It is Asia the soul pervading the universe and redeeming Humanity.

¹ "On Love"—Shelley.

² *Queen Mab*, VIII, 106-7.

In Adonais, the Eternal Spirit

“ Weilds this world with never wearied *love*
Sustains it from beneath and kindles it above.”

Like Plato also, he divides love into a lower and a higher form. In his Essay on the Manners of the Ancients he gives a very low position to the gratification of the senses in love and regards true love to be “the universal thirst for a communion not merely of the senses but of our whole nature, intellectual, imaginative and sensitive.” In the Epipsychidion he personifies this lower type as a being whose voice is venomous melody; the breath of her false mouth is like faint flowers and her touch is electric poison.¹

But, unlike Plato, he does not regard the love between man and woman to be of the lower type. On the contrary, his theory of love in its highest expression is always intimately associated with womanhood. In his earliest days when he wrote the Alastor, he represents the poet as dreaming

“ A veiled maid
Sate near him talking in low solemn tones ; ”²

the pursuit of whom was the highest and the purest love. In the Revolt of Islam also the beloved is a woman,

“ Gathering beauty as she grew
Like the bright shade of some immortal dream.”³

Similarly, the spirit of love in Prometheus Unbound is Asia, and the Epipsychidion is a passionate expression of love for a being that veils,

“ Beneath the radiant form of woman
All that is insupportable (in thee)
Of life, love and immortality.”⁴

¹ Ll. 256-65.

² Canto II, st. 31.

³ Ll. 151-52.

⁴ Ll. 23 *et seq.*

This difference in standpoint is due to the fact that among the ancient Greeks, women were held in low esteem. Shelley himself refers to the "diminution which the inferiority of women recognised by law and opinion must have produced in the delicacy and comprehensiveness of their conception," and admits that Greek women were "certainly devoid of that moral and intellectual loveliness which the acquisition of knowledge and the cultivation of sentiment animates."¹

Although in the Republic² Plato holds that no distinction should be made between men and women so far as education and the exercise of rights are concerned, he has not been able to shake off the influence of the Greek tradition; for in the same book of the Republic he asserts that "all the pursuits of men are the pursuit of women also, but in all of them a woman is inferior to man." In the Book of Laws he is far more explicit. Women are there described as inferior to men even in the capacity for virtue. In *Timeaeus* Plato holds that "those who fail to attain perfection pass at the second birth into women." This belief in the inferiority of women exerts a great influence over the Platonic theory of Love. The highest love is possible only among men. In *Phaedrus* the lover and the beloved are men; so also in the *Symposium*.

The case of Shelley was, however, quite different. The infusion of the exhausted population of the South with the Celtic races of the North, proverbial for the reverence they showed to womanhood brought about a change in the opinion of man. Ladies who (in Roman society) had already been held in great esteem as "equal partners with their husbands in the regulation of domestic economy and the education of children"³ now became objects not only of consideration but of respect as well. The result of this altered attitude towards

¹ *Essay on the Manners of the Ancients*—Shelley.

² *Bk. V*, 451-452.

³ *Essay on the Manners of the Ancients*—Shelley.

womanhood was the splendid age of chivalry when "love became a religion, the idol of whose worship was ever present." Men became more amiable, more generous and wise, "they were lifted out from the dull vapours of the little world of self." The music of its songs and lyrics "penetrated the caverns of society" and its echoes "drowned the dissonance of arms and superstition."¹

In the eighteenth century a new tendency made itself felt. It was the cry of womanhood for self-realisation. Woman could no longer remain satisfied with her narrow round of duties. She hankered after a greater share in national activities and became more and more clamorous for her rights and privileges.

Shelley was the inheritor of these traditions; he was closely associated with the advocates of female liberty. It is consequently only natural that he should reject Plato's contention that love between man and woman is of the lower type.

The poet feels the ennobling influence of love even as Plato did. In 1813, he writes of Herriet Westbrook as one

"Beneath whose looks did my reviving soul
Riper in truth and virtuous daring grow."²

Similarly, in the Revolt of Islam the hero says,—

"In me communion with this purest being
Kindled an intense zeal and made me wise;"³

and it is Asia who frees Prometheus the spirit of humanity from the bonds of Jupiter. Platonic love has, however, nothing of the mysterious character that Shelley ascribes to it. In Plato love works in the ordinary manner and influences the lover because it inspires the feelings of honour and

¹ Defence of Poetry—Shelley.

² Dedication, Queen Mab.

³ Canto II, st. 32.

courage and compells him to act nobly. According to Shelley love comes and in a moment transforms his whole personality ; it acts upon the lover even as conversion acted upon the early Christian Saints.

The basis of Shelley's theory of love is Aristophanes' speech in the Symposium. It is the search for the counterpart which the lover tries to find in the external world. "We dimly see within our intellectual nature a miniature, as it were, of our entire self...the ideal prototype of everything excellent or lovely that we are capable of conceiving as belonging to the nature of man, a soul within our soul that describes a circle around its proper paradise which pain and sorrow and evil dare not overlap. The discovery of its antetype, the meeting with an understanding capable of clearly estimating our own ; an imagination which can enter into and seize upon the subtle and delicate peculiarities which we have delighted to cherish and unfold in secret—this is the invisible and unattainable point to which love tends and to attain which it urges forth the powers of man to arrest the faintest shadow of that without the possession of which there is no rest or respite to the human heart."¹ The lover creates out of the vague and shadowy intimations of his own heart an ideal of perfection (especially of beauty) and then tries to find out an individual who can embody it or at least appreciate it. Similarly in the *Alastor* the poet's mind "is suddenly awakened and thirsts for intercourse with an intelligence similar to itself. He images to his self the being whom he loves. The vision in which he embodies his own imagination, unites all of the wonderful or wise or beautiful which the poet, the philosopher or the lover could depict. He seeks in vain for a proto-type of his conception. Blasted by his disappointment he descends to an untimely grave."² In the *Epipsy-chidion* he refers to the beloved as "The soul out of my soul."

¹ On Love—Shelley.

² Preface to *Alastor*—Shelley

In this soul out of his soul the poet recognises,

“The light of life,
Shadow of beauty unbeheld.”¹

She is the faint reflection of the Eternal beauty which pervades the Universe.

“The bright shadow of some immortal dream
Which walks, when tempest sleeps, the way of
life’s dark stream.”²

The beloved is the mirror,

“In whom as in the splendour of the Sun
All shapes look glorious which thou gazest on.”³

She is “the veiled glory of this lampless universe,”

“An image of some bright eternity
A shadow of some golden dream.”⁴

The description that Shelley gives of the poet’s first communion with beauty always reminds us of Plato. The beloved is

“A being whom my (the poet’s) spirit oft
Met on its visioned wanderings.”⁵

The poet dreams

“A dream of hope that never yet
Had flushed his cheek;”

in which the ideal of beauty comes and captivates his soul.⁶

¹ Prometheus Unbound, III, 3, 6-7.

² Revolt of Islam, Canto II, st. 23.

³ Epipsychidion, 30-32.

⁴ *Ibid.* 115-16.

⁵ *Ibid.* 190-91.

⁶ Alastor, 149 *et seq.*

The effect of this vision is instantaneous. Like the lover of Plato the poet "shrieks and clasps his hands in ecstasy" as soon as the shadow of the spirit of beauty falls upon him. He feels "breathless awe, his heart quivers like a flame."¹ His strong heart "sinks and sickens with excess of love" and he feels "that the dawn of his long night, is penetrating him with living light."²

The vision soon flits away. The poet is "maddened and pained" at its disappearance. He becomes wan and bears

" * * Within his life the brooding care
That ever fed on its decaying flame."³

He is haunted by the vision and pursues it to his death.

In the "Alastor" the poet only describes one part of the pursuit. In the *Epipsychidion* he is much more elaborate. He receives mystic intimations of absolute beauty. Her voice comes to him through the whispering woods and the odours of flowers. Every phenomenon of nature breathes forth her name. And then, says he,

" I sprang, as one sandalled with plumes of fire
And towards the lodestar of my one desire
I flitted like a dizzy moth....."

On its disappearance, the lover becomes dismayed with his great loss and in that silence and in despair the lovelorn poet questions

" * * every tongueless wind that blew
Over his tower of mourning, if it knew
Whither is fled the soul out of his soul."

¹ To Constantia Singing.

² Cf. *Epipsychidion*, ll. 341-42.

³ *Alastor*, ll. 246-47.

He becomes restless and must go forth "feeding his course with expectation's breath." "And struggling through its error with vain strife," says the poet,

"And struggling through its error with vain strife
And stumbling in my weakness and my hate
And half-bewildered with new forms; I passed
Seeking among these half-taught foresters
If I could find one form, resembling hers
In which she might have marked herself from me."

Like the ideal lover of Plato he proceeds from the love of one beautiful form to that of many for according to him

"Love is like understanding that grows bright
Gazing on many truths, it is like thy light,
Imagination, which from earth and sky
And from the depths of human fantasy
As from a thousand prisms and mirrors fills
The universe with glorious beams."

Moreover

"Narrow

The heart that loves, the brain that contemplates,
The life that wears, the spirit that creates
One object and one form and binds thereby
A sepulchre for its eternity."

And so he vainly tries to find out his idol in many acquaintances, who, unfortunately for him, always fall short of his vision. He stands wounded, weak and panting, till at last Emilia comes "the vision he had sought through grief and shame."

Shelley does not, however, "proceed to contemplate and see the beauty of laws and institutions."¹ The only reference

¹ Symposium.

to this aspect of Platonic love is found in an occasional passage of the *Epipsychidion*.

“ * * In the words
Of antique verse and high romance—in form,
Sound and colour—in whatever checks that storm
Which with the shattered present chokes the past
And in that best philosophy whose taste
Makes this cold common hell, our life a doom
As glorious as a fiery martyrdom
Her spirit was the harmony of truth ; ”

and is never alluded to again.

The lover of Shelley passes on immediately to the highest consummation of love in the vision of absolute beauty. The most eloquent and poetic expression of this vision Shelley gives in the *Prometheus Unbound*.¹ Asia, the universal spirit of love, transfigures the whole world. The radiance of her beauty dazzles all mortal sight. Love bursts from her person like the atmosphere of the sun's fire filling the living world. Wherever she moves “the world's dim shapes are clad with brightness.”

Shelley differs from Plato in this aspect. He does not regard the contemplation of beauty in laws and institutions to be a form of love. The reason for this difference is not far to seek. With Plato, love is of the shadow of beauty in the person. His pursuit is of the ideal veiled in the form of the beloved and he loses the person in the idea. Such ideal passion can be transferred from animate to inanimate beings. But Shelley never loses sight of the person. Even when he is most influenced by Plato his vision of beauty is a heightened personality of his own self. In his love-lyrics there is a conflict between two tendencies, the one “a cry for personality” and the other “a yearning for ideal passion.” Sometimes he

¹ *Prometheus Unbound*, II, 5, 15-36.

is oblivious of the personality of his beloved and looks upon her as "the shadow of beauty unbeheld." On other occasions he descends from the ideal plane and writes and feels as an ordinary human being. In the Indian Serenade he yearns for union with his lady-love. His cheek is cold and white, his heart beats fast and he must die upon the heart of his beloved even as

"The nightingale's complaint,
It dies upon his heart."

In "To— " (1820) we breathe in an atmosphere altogether different. The beloved is no longer a *person* as she is in the Indian Serenade nor does the poet wish to come in the closest contact with her. On the contrary, he fears the kisses of the gentle maiden and wants to worship her from afar. The maiden has receded from the physical world far away to the realm of spiritual ideas. It is the note of distant devotion :

"The desire of moth for the star
Of the night for the morrow
The devotion of something afar
From the sphere of our sorrow."

This conflict is all the more apparent in the Epipsychidion, where Shelley mingles the person with the idea. Sometimes he speaks of Emily as a person and sometimes as the divine image of the soul. "Love so instinct with the cry for personality," can never be transferred to impersonal beings like institutions and laws, and so even in the Prometheus Unbound the transformation of the Universe emanates from a person.

Gradually this passion for personality triumphed and Shelley came to recognise that "his identification of Intellectual Beauty with the daughters of men could not be reconciled

with Platonism." He had sought "in mortal image the likeness of what is eternal" and had failed in the attempt and he confesses that "it is not easy for spirits cased in flesh and blood to avoid it."¹ And a time came when Shelley regarded the Epipsychydion to be "a part of him that is already dead." He had by that time outgrown the influence of Plato. He was no longer Shelley the visionary, the distant worshipper of a veiled image of beauty. He descended from his lofty spiritual plane and his later love lyrics are a passionate expression not for "the soul out of my soul" but for concrete human beings. It is no longer "a devotion to something afar" but a definite passion.

5.

THE THEORY OF POETIC INSPIRATION

Criticism in the eighteenth century was mainly concerned with the details of art. It sought to examine the technique of literary production and set up an ideal standard according to which works of art could be judged. Pope's Essay on Criticism lays down rules according to which poems might be written. Dryden's Essay on the Drama discussed a similar question regarding the technique of dramatic composition. The critics did not go deeper into the question of poetic inspiration. They did not try to discover the foundations of art. The poets of the romantic period, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley, did not deal so much with the details as with the first principles. The question of poetic inspiration occupied their attention. Their whole standpoint was, to a great extent, influenced by idealism; and their theory of artistic inspiration exhibits interesting points of resemblance with the Platonic conception of Poetry.

According to Plato, poets never attain excellence by art

¹ Letter to Gisborne.

but they create their beautiful melodies in a state of divine insanity.¹ The muses take possession of a tender and virgin soul, inspire it bacchically towards songs and other poetry, adorning myriads of ancient deeds and instructing the succeeding generations.² And if poets try to write without "this madness from the muses," their poetry will sink into nothingness before truly inspired art. In fact their compositions are excellent "in proportion to their participation in the divine influence."³ The poets are passive instruments in the hands of God and the priceless truths they utter in a state of unconsciousness are the words of God. They are the interpreters of divinities.⁴

Throughout his life Shelley tried to follow the same principles. He never shrank from ruthlessly exposing "the poetical empiries," and "their narrow systems of criticism." And he turned to Plato for a truer conception of poetic inspiration. In his letter to Thomas Love Peacock he refers "to the wonderful passage in the *Phædrus*—in praise of Poetic madness and in definition of what poetry is and how a man becomes a poet." Every man who wishes to be a poet should always "impress himself with this sentence" for it will preserve him against false taste and ignorant criticism.

His theory of poetic inspiration is based on the principles underlying the passage cited above. According to him poetic inspiration is not "subject to the control of the active powers of the mind and its birth and recurrence have no necessary connection with consciousness or will;" it arises unforeseen and departs imperceptibly. Even the greatest poet cannot say, "I will write poetry." He must keep his mind passive and open to all influences for "inspirations act in an unapprehended manner above consciousness." It recks of no time or place; it bloweth where it listeth, and then

¹ *Ion*.

² *Ion*.

³ *Phædrus*, 425A.

Ibid.

suddenly the whole personality of the poet awakens to a transitory brightness; the veil is lifted from the hidden beauty of the world and familiar objects are clothed in transcendental radiance. Such moments are too intense to find expression in words. "When composition begins, inspiration is already on the decline and the most glorious poetry that has been communicated to the world is probably a feeble shadow of the original conceptions of the poet."¹

Like Plato, Shelley holds that the poets lose their being in moments of inspiration. They participate "in the eternal, the infinite and the one; as far as relates to their composition time, place and numbers are not." Poetry rises above time and place and circumstances. It is "the interpenetration of the divine nature with our own;" the veritable word of God.

In the Republic, Plato's attitude completely changes. It is now one of absolute hostility. Plato lived in an age when Greek literature and Greek art were both declining. The creative faculty was no longer active, and Greece had lost its life and its inspiration. She was "lost in doubt and ignorance bereft of the moral qualities which create poetry. She had mock-birds in abundance, tragedy-mongers and prattlers chirping like swallows."² Disgusted with the still-born literary productions of his own age, the philosopher denounced poetry altogether.

His philosophy also militated against concrete representations of truth. His mission was to convince all men that the eternal world of sense is fleeting and delusive and the only reality in the universe is the ideas stripped of their associations with sense and perception. He could not, consequently, appreciate poetry which appeals to men through the senses and seeks to ennoble them through concrete images of the good and the beautiful.

¹ Defence of Poetry—Shelley.

² Jowett's Introduction to Plato's Republic.

Moreover Plato was intensely intellectual. His very enthusiasm was of the reason and the intellect ; his philosopher is a supremely intellectual being and his ideas are conceivable only through the understanding. To a man of this temperament the emotional appeal of poetry cannot but be "a stale reproduction of contemporary opinion," "a wanton attempt to please the vulgar rout."¹

His hatred for poets and poetry was much more heightened when he found Greek poets and tragedians cringing to Tyranny and singing its praises. Plato was an ardent republican, a bitter antagonist of tyranny and his spirit of freedom was naturally outraged. He could not tolerate Euripides praising tyranny and the tragedians forfeit all claims to be members of his commonwealth because they hold that "tyrants are wise by living with the wise and good-like by exercising their powers." "Such men," says he with mock humility, "are wise but they should forgive us if we do not receive them into our commonwealth. They may go to their cities and attract mobs and hire voices fair and loud and persuasive and draw the cities over to tyrannies and democracies. But they will have no place in our Republic."²

The poets are, therefore, no longer, the interpreters of Gods but only imitators of phenomena. They are makers of images thrice removed from truth and know nothing of true existence.³ They are not even conscious of the meanings of the fine words they utter.⁴ As creators they are inferiors to the philosophers "who free the pure idea from the sensuous forms and suppositions and recognise Eternal Being." Poetical imitations are ruinous to the understanding of the hearers. "They are removed from reason and can have no true and healthy aim."

Again the poets aim at being popular and become so by "awakening, nourishing and strengthening the passions."

¹ Republic.

² Republic, X.

³ Republic VIII, 568.

⁴ Apology, 22D.

Reason is impaired and the passions become supreme. Thus when a tragedian "represents some pitiful hero who is drawing out his sorrows in a long oration or weeping, or smiting his breast, the best of us delight in giving way to sympathy and are in raptures at the excellence of the poet who stirs our emotions most." We forget that the action which gives us pleasure is ignominious and womanly and that this sympathy for other men's distress undermines our power of self-restraint. "The feeling of sorrow which has gathered strength at the misfortune of others is with great difficulty suppressed in our own."¹ By sympathising with the weak we ourselves become weak. So also in Comedy the buffoon in man is encouraged and strengthened by the antics of the stage and he is often unconsciously "betrayed into playing the comic part, even on serious occasions at home."

In this way does poetry "feed and water the passions instead of drying them up; it lets them rule although they ought to be controlled if mankind is ever to increase in happiness and virtue."

Unlike Plato, Shelley was born in an age of poetic revival. The literature of England had arisen as it were from a new birth; the ferment of thought and sentiment which accompanied and succeeded the French Revolution left its impress on the mind of England. The spirit of inquiry and enthusiasm was abroad. People began to think courageously and act independently. Intoxicated by the hopes of the approaching millenium the poets and thinkers spoke and sang in strains which inspired the drooping manhood of a great nation. "It was impossible to read the compositions of the most celebrated writers of these days without being startled with the electric life which burns within their words." Their mind became "the mirror of the shadows of futurity cast upon the present."²

¹ Republic, X.

² Defence of Poetry.

This age of Renaissance was essentially a protest against the preceding age of reason. The emotional side of the human nature had, so long, been neglected and starved. Sentiment and enthusiasm had been scornfully rejected as gothic, unconventional and unrefined. It was now time that they should claim their share. The people had had enough of the cold rationalistic school of the eighteenth century. They could endure it no longer. Imagination was extolled at the expense of reason and passion, at the expense of self-restraint. It was also a "renaissance of wonder." The people became quite alive to the wonder that lies beneath the outward vesture of familiar things. They were keenly sensitive to the beauty pervading the common objects of everyday life. Their imagination transformed the whole universe and invested it with a visionary gleam—a splendour that never was on sea or land.

When we turn from the age to the poet we find the same characteristics. Shelley's poems of nature are instinct with an all-embracing imagination and a keen perception of beauty even in her most evanescent aspects. His songs of liberty tingle with an intense sympathy for down-trodden humanity. His lyrics of love are breathless with fervid emotion and quiver with desire. They all give us the picture of a personality essentially different from Plato who was entrenched in a world of reason where passions cannot enter.

His conception of poetry is consequently quite different. He acknowledges no difference between poets and philosophers. Like the philosophers of Plato the poets also can go beyond the world of phenomena into the world of the spirit and unveil the Eternal Being. Their words are sparks of inextinguishable thought and their poetry is "overflowing with waters of wisdom and delight." Poetry penetrates the deepest truths and vividly brings out a thousand unapprehended conditions of thought. It is the great revealer, stripping the veil of familiarity from the world and laying bare the

beauty which is the spirit of its forms. Knowledge without poetry is a mere accumulation of dead facts, a burden on the soul. The cultivation of the sciences without a poetical faculty extends the range of man's control over the universe, but it does not develop his power of assimilating them to the internal laws of the human nature. Man having enslaved the elements remains himself a slave.

When the poets are inspired they "become the unacknowledged legislators of the world even as the philosophers are in Plato's Republic. They are the institutors of laws and founders of society, regulating it according to the eternal principles of truth and progress. In fact the poetry of a nation (like its wisdom) lies in its institutions. The great events of Roman History, the order they brought out of chaos and disorder, are immortal dramas and poems. They are "the episodes of the cyclic poem written by Time, upon the memories of men. The past like a Rhapsodist fills the theatre of everlasting generations with their harmony."¹

The poetic faculty is therefore similar in its action to the Dialectics of Plato. Both reveal the truth underlying the universe. In their essential nature, however, they differ from one another. According to Plato the philosopher proceeds from a rational standpoint. Reason is supreme in his investigations and his main object is to form concepts and classify them.² The poet, on the contrary, is no thoroughgoing rationalist. At the very outset, Shelley discriminates between reason and imagination. Reason is "mind contemplating the relations borne by one thought to another" while the imagination "acts upon thoughts and colours them with its own light." The one is the principle of synthesis the other of analysis. Dialectics combines both³ while poetry uses the second. The poet does not reason, he creates. He

¹ Defence of Poetry.

² Zeller—Plato and the Older Academy.

is not a mere maker of images from phenomena (as he is with Plato). On the contrary, he apprehends the true and the beautiful and the good more intensely than others. Art is no mere imitation; it is the expression of the ideal in the forms of sense.

The poet reveals the inner beauty of truth not through the reason and understanding but through the imagination. He expresses it not by abstract ideas but by concrete images. Unlike Plato, Shelley does not think that poetical compositions are harmful because they are removed from pure idea uncontaminated by sense. He admits that few poets have chosen "to exhibit the beauty of their conceptions in its naked truth." Sensuous images and forms are necessary for appealing to human minds. The poets must "temper their planetary music for mortal ears." Nor does Poetry become stale representations of current opinions simply because the characteristic manners and customs of the age in which the poet flourished have entered into its composition. "They cover without concealing the eternal proportion of its beauty." Not only so, the outward vesture is often transformed by the inner spirit it covers.

We should not disparage poetry for its appeal to the feelings of man. All feelings are not wrong. They do not always impair reason. Reason must be inspired with emotion to perform great deeds. A man cannot be "greatly good" if he has not the power to feel intensely. Shelley himself points out that there is no dearth of knowledge about the highest ideals in every department of life, but the constant practice of calculating utilities has warped human nature and men have lost the generous impulse to resolutely follow their ideals.¹ The one thing needful, according to Shelley, is to enlist the feelings on the side of reason. His purpose was "to familiarise...poetical readers with beautiful idealisms

¹ Defence of Poetry

of moral excellence ; aware that, until the mind can love and admire and trust and hope and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are seeds cast upon the highway of life which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust, although they would bear the harvest of his happiness."¹ The great secret in morals is "love or a going out of our nature and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought or action or person." In order that we may do good to others and be good ourselves "we must make the pleasures and pains of our fellow-beings as our own." We must put ourselves with an intense and comprehensive imagination in the place of suffering humanity. The great instrument of moral good is therefore imagination and poetry "enlarges the imagination by replenishing it with thoughts of ever new delight." When the paralysing venom of social corruption diffuses itself throughout the framework of society and brutalises its members, poetry still remains as "the source of whatever beautiful, good and true can have a place in such an evil time ;" and Shelley is sure that "those among the luxurious citizens of Syracuse who were delighted with the poems of Theocritus were less cruel and sensual than the remnant of their tribe."

Even if the control of the emotions is required for the increase of human happiness and virtue, the total suppression of all feelings defeats this end. By recommending such a suppression Plato fell into the error of confusing sentimentality with sentiment. Feelings often gain strength by being pent up and the best way of controlling disordered emotions is by giving free vent to them. As Aristotle points out "tragedy benefits society by purging passions by pity and fear." Here too Shelley differs from Plato. He does not denounce tragedy as weakening man's power of self-restraint. With him self-restraint is at best a negative quality inferior

¹ Preface to the *Prometheus Unbound*.

to the positive one of sympathy: and the drama (specially of Athens) promotes this quality by giving ideal representation of mighty emotions. It also "strengthens emotions by pity, indignation, terror and sorrow." Even crime is "disarmed of half its horror and contagion by being represented as the fatal consequences of the unfathomable agencies of nature." In answer as it were to Plato he points out that "it is indisputable that the highest perfection of human society has ever corresponded with the highest dramatic excellence" and its corruption or extinction is the mark of "the extinction of the energies which sustain the soul of social life."

With Shelley, therefore, Poetry is the source of manifold benefits to the human race. "It redeems from decay the visitations of Divinity in man, it creates anew the universe which had been annihilated by the recurrence of impressions, blunted by re-iteration" and as such its place is very high. In the republic of Shelley, if not of Plato, poets are supreme.

We thus find that Shelley differed in many important points from Plato so far as his doctrine of poetic inspiration is concerned. Yet he was profoundly influenced by the Greek Philosopher. His whole standpoint is coloured by Platonic philosophy. Even in discussing principles of art and criticism he cannot forget "the one supreme intelligence which apprehends all things in its absolute truth." He still moves in a spiritual world of ideas.

6.

CONCLUSION

From the study of Shelley's works we thus find that Platonic thoughts and ideals began to mould him from his early youth. During the period 1813-1819 Plato was the greatest influence over his intellect and imagination. From the very beginning, however, the poet was developing some

doctrines in his own way. The theory that the ideal of beauty can be discovered in human forms is a creation of Shelley's mind under the influence of Dante. The monistic standpoint which refuses existence to any object save and except the Universal spirit, the theory that the individual soul becomes, after death, one with the Oversoul, have no counterpart in the philosophy of Plato. These thoughts gradually became predominant till a time came when Shelley freed himself from his allegiance. The *Epipsychidion* appears to mark the turning point in his poetical career. Shelley no longer deals exclusively with Platonic themes. He may use them as embellishments to his poetry (*e.g.*, in "From Ariel to Miranda") or refer occasionally to them (*e.g.*, in "the Hellas") but they no longer predominate. In the *Defence of Poetry* (1822) Shelley accepts the idealistic standpoint of Plato but not as a blind follower of the Greek Philosopher. His theory of poetic inspiration is drawn from the *Phaedrus* but the denunciation of poets which disfigures much of Plato's later compositions finds no place in his essay. On the contrary, he criticises Plato and answers his objections almost serially. Shelley is now a complete master of himself; he is an original thinker who accepts, transforms and even rejects his erstwhile teacher. The later love poems give us the same impression. The note of distant devotion is no longer discernible. The beloved is no longer the shadow of beauty unbeheld. She is a woman of flesh and blood, a person of this mundane world. Shelley himself has changed. He is more of a man and less of a visionary; and we may well believe that if he had been granted a longer life, he would have developed his personality in his own way assimilating whatever was needful and rejecting what was not, from the master minds of all ages; he would have, then, been able to contribute more largely his original thoughts and ideals to literature and life.

THE GIPSIES AND THE SPREAD OF INDIAN CULTURE.

BY

BHUDEB MOOKERJI, M.A.

The surprising discovery of Sanskrit by Sir William Jones and some of his less reputed contemporaries was followed by a tendency in some of the European scholars to assign to this national language of India such an antiquity as has not yet been claimed for any other language known to the world. Of course, this estimate of relative antiquity which these early orientalists felt constrained to make with regard to Sanskrit falls very far short of the idea of antiquity entertained by the Indians themselves with reference to their ancient language. Side by side with this tendency, there prevailed, almost universally, a kindred notion that India was the original abode of all social, religious, and artistic culture found existing in the west. This view is borne out by testimonies given not only by the ancient and mediæval historians but by the Scriptures themselves. Of late, there has arisen, in modern European scholars, a counter-tendency to view the aforesaid theories with a bit of cynicism, and to consider the views of the early orientalists, such as Sir W. Jones, and Schlegel, exaggerated, so much so that Dr. Tucker complained that both Biblical and profane history had made inveterate a habit of looking to the East for the origin of all civilization found existing in the West. Attempts have been made in recent times to refute the theory of Asia being the primitive home of the so-called Indo-European stock. I am not however going to enter here upon a discussion as to the relative merits of these conflicting theories, and to offer my views on the

tenableness of a theory of primitive Indo-European stock and their common abode. All that I propose to attempt here is to point out a most important, but hitherto unnoticed, source from which, in ancient time, the West received its civilization from the East. It is to be remembered that the days of advancing strange and uncritical hypotheses on insufficient data are no more. If we maintain that the West is indebted for its civilization to the East, or *vice versa*, we will have to substantiate our statement by adducing evidence mainly drawn from language, literature, fragments of history and mythology, and consuetudes which are unfortunately the only authentic evidence now at our disposal.

The first thing which calls for a serious consideration in the programme of the proposed investigation, is the question whether and how far the Gipsies have influenced the movements of European civilization. In some of the ordinary books on comparative Philology, we find it stated that the Gipsies are of Indian origin and speak an Indian dialect. Unfortunately, our information about the Gipsies is still very meagre; none of the hitherto published books deals comprehensively with all the different dialects into which the language of the Gipsies has subdivided itself. Yet, a careful examination of the materials at our disposal cannot but produce an impression that the Gipsies have played a more important part in the history of European civilization than has hitherto been recognized.

The Gipsies are a nomadic tribe, scattered all over Europe. They are also to be found in Egypt, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, China, and even in America. The number of those living in Europe is estimated at not less than 700,000, in addition to those who have already been assimilated with the people among whom the Gipsies have lived for centuries. The origin of the Gipsies was a matter of controversy till the year 1782, when their language, which had hitherto been regarded as a thieves' jargon, was seriously studied, and found to be an

Indian dialect. It is now admitted on all hands that the Gipsies are of Indian origin, and that in "Romani" (for, that is the name given to the language of the Gipsies) we have an Indian tongue. The questions which now present themselves for solution are these:—When and from what part of India did these people migrate? To what of the several modern Indian tongues is the Gipsy dialect specially traceable? We understand that these questions have engaged the attention of several orientalists, who have not yet been able to arrive at any definite conclusion. All that they have been able to assert is that the Gipsy dialect "stands in the relation of a sister, not a daughter, to the seven principal New Indian Dialects. Its forms are often more primitive than theirs; sometimes than those of Pali or the Prakrits."¹ The following instances, which can be multiplied indefinitely, will be found interesting in this connection:—

Gipsy	Ha sta (hand)—	Sanskrit	Hasta—	Pali	Hatha.
„	Kasta (wood)—	„	Kasta—	„	Kasta.
„	Ostha (lip)—	„	Ostha—	„	Otha.
„	Tras (fear)—	„	Tras —	„	Tas.

Now, it will be worth our while to proceed to a critical examination of the Gipsy dialect and to consider its relation with some of the modern Indian tongues. Our attempts in this direction are likely to be thwarted by an insufficiency of data, for the Gipsy language, as we find it now, is not the original tongue which the Gipsies brought with them from India. Naturally enough, the Gipsies have borrowed largely from the languages of the countries in which they have lived for many a century, so much so that many of the Gipsies know no case or verb ending other than those of the lands of their adoption. Moreover, our knowledge of the modern Gipsy dialects, which are said to be not less than fourteen in

¹ The quotations are from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, on which I have drawn largely for my materials.

number, is still very scanty and meagre. Yet, the little that I have been able to pick up warrants, I think, our arriving at a provisional conclusion as to the exact relation in which the standard Gipsy dialect stands to the modern Indian tongues. The following is a specimen of the language current among the German Gipsies :—" Miro Bara Devala dela berschindo "—*i.e.*, My great God gives rain. It will be interesting to note that this particular sentence will appear to be familiar to most of the modern Sanskritic-tongued Indians, on account of its kindredness to their own dialects ; but the question to which of these dialects the Gipsy tongue, as exemplified in the above sentence, is most akin cannot be solved without a careful examination of each of the words constituting the sentence quoted above. Let us therefore proceed to put each of these words to a minute scrutiny, and pass our verdict. The first word, *viz.*, 'miro' is retained intact in Nepali only, while it has undergone slight variations in its form in Bengali (which has 'mor' as its equivalent), Hindi (which has 'mera' as its equivalent), and the other Sanskritic dialects. The next word 'bara' is pre-eminently Bengali, while it has undergone a slight modification in Hindi and some other dialects, in which it has taken the form of 'Bará.' Next comes the word 'Devala,' which is more allied to Bengali in its form than to any other dialect. If we are to render the two words, 'Bara devala,' into modern Bengali, they will stand thus, 'Bara deva.' No other dialect than Bengali can claim such a close similarity with the Gipsy tongue in regard to these two words. The fourth word, 'dela'

still in use without any modification in some parts of Bengal, *e.g.*, in the south western part of Murshidabad and north eastern part of Burdwan, while, elsewhere in Bengal, it is in use with a slight variation in form, *viz.*, dilá or dila. The Nepali substitute for the word is 'dia' and the Hindi substitute is 'diá.' With regard to the last word, *viz.*, 'berschindo,' it will be seen that it is a slightly corrupted form of

the Sanskrit ' ' barsa-bindu,' *i.e.*, rain drops. Nowhere in India do the illiterate people now use this compound word, in order to indicate rain drops. Every educated Indian can, of course, understand it easily, but it is only in literary Bengali, which approaches more nearly Sanskrit than any other modern Indian dialect, that we can still use the expression without any charge of obscurity or pedanticity on our part. That being so, the Gipsies, especially those in Germany, appear to have migrated from Bengal, rather than from any other part of India.

An examination of some of the customs still retained by the Gipsies may also confirm us in our belief in the Bengali origin of these people. We are told, as for instance, that a German Gipsy may not cook for four months after child birth. This is a custom the spirit of which is still observed, more or less, everywhere in India. A Hindu woman is regarded as unclean, and is not allowed to touch everything belonging to the household, for sometime after child birth. But as regards the exact duration of the period for which the custom in question is to be observed, it is the same as still prevails in some parts of Bengal, where the time limit is 3 to 4 months. We are told of another custom still in vogue among the German Gipsies *viz.*, a vessel touched by the skirt of a woman's dress is considered defiled. It is notably in Bengal that the skirt of a woman's garment is accounted unclean. If, by chance, the skirt were to touch the head of a man, it would be thought unlucky ; and in that case he would try to avert the evil by treading it. Such customs, however, are gradually disappearing before the growth of a tendency to depend exclusively on commonsense, especially in those parts of Bengal where the influence of modern western civilization is growing more and more markedly prominent. In view of all this evidence, we are justified, I think, in concluding that the forefathers of the Gipsies lived in the plains of Bengal, which they were compelled to leave, under circumstances which I do not propose to examine here.

We can therefore assert without much hesitation that in the Gipsy tongue, at least in that current in Germany, which appears to have been affected very little by foreign elements, we have a very ancient Bengali tongue, more ancient than anything hitherto found in the fragments of some ancient Bengali literature recently discovered. It is hoped, therefore, that our increasing acquaintance with the Gipsy dialects will throw a greater light on the state of the early Bengali language.

There are no doubt certain other facts which may equally claim for the Gipsies a Behari origin. We are told that the Gipsies call their males by 'Rom' and their females by 'Romni.' "Romani" is the general Indian name for a female; so, there is nothing noteworthy in this epithet; but the word "Rom" will present an appearance of supreme importance to the philologist. It will be seen that the word has proved to be a puzzle to the orientalists. It is connected by G. A. Paspatis with the name of the Indian god "Ram", while Miklosich identifies it with the Sanskrit 'dome' or 'domba', a low caste musicism. But neither of these conjectures is correct. Let us see whether the word is still in use in any part of India. The reply will be in the negative; but one who has an intimate acquaintance with modern Indian dialects will not hesitate to declare that the Gipsy 'Rom' is still in use in a slightly modified form, in Behar, where the epithet for a gentleman is 'Rouma' (रौमा), a contraction of the Sanskrit 'Romya' (the beautiful), exactly as 'Babu' (contraction of "bhabya," the Gentle,) is in Bengal. Derivations of both these words *viz.*, 'Babu' and 'Rouma,' have been a matter of controversy with the Indian philologists. None of them has hitherto hit upon the true solution that both 'Babu' and 'Rouma' denote the very same thing, *viz.*, a respectable person, the former being a contraction of 'bhabya' while the latter of 'romya.' Each of these is, therefore, employed by common people to denote a man of noble birth. Denoting, as they do, the idea of a beautiful and

gentle person, both these words point to a period of the Indian history, when the dark-coloured aborigines was put to a very sharp contrast with the persons of the newly arrived Aryans of a very handsome appearance. It appears that such an epithet was in frequent use in the early history of the Aryan colonization in India. But with the gradual incorporation of the aborigines into the Aryan society, though at lower strata, the social difference between the two races was not much felt. The result is that such an epithet does no longer exist outside Bengal and Behar; and even in those provinces, the epithets have lost their original significance. All these facts converge to the conclusion that the Gipsies migrated from Bengal and Behar; and probably at a time when these two adjoining provinces had a common tongue. Even if we suppose that at none of the stages of the linguistic development of India, had these two provinces a common tongue, we will have to admit, at any rate, that the Gipsies migrated from both the provinces, and especially from the tract lying between the two.

Whatever that may be, they left India at a time when the distinction between the Aryans and the Aborigines was still observed very keenly and with much ostentation. This agrees well with the view of Bataillard, who maintains the pre-historic origin of the Gipsies. The same conclusion cannot but force itself upon everyone familiar with the spirit of Indian tongues.

Enough has been said to show that 'Romani' approaches Sanskrit more nearly than even 'Pali.' Yet a little more discussion of the subject will not be found quite uninteresting here:—

The Romani 'bearengaro' (Sanskrit 'baryankara') means a sailor; and Romani 'bearo' (Sans. 'barya') derived from 'bari' *i.e.*, water, means a ship. Similarly Romani 'Petulangaro' (Sans. pittalankara) means a smith (from pittal, brass) and Romani sivamangaro (Sans. sibamankara, *i.e.*, the maker of a thing sewn) means a tailor.

In all such words the inflections are peculiar to Sanskrit only and not to Prakrits. Again, the Romani 'Ishom'

(I am) approaches Sanskrit 'Asmi' more closely than the Prakrit 'Ahmi.' In view of all these facts, Miklosich's theory that the emigration cannot have taken place till the Prakrits were formed, cannot be maintained. Of course, there is no denial that there is "some agreement of Romani in its phonetic laws and system of case-endings with the modern Aryan languages of India." But such an agreement is inevitable from the nature of the case. Since Sanskrit passed into Romani which in its turn developed into Prakrits and modern Indian dialects, it is natural that there should be some agreement in case-endings and phonetic peculiarities between Romani and modern Indian dialects, as between Sanskrit and Romani. Hence, we are led to conclude, from more than one reason, that Romani is the modern development, in foreign environments, of a language spoken by the people of India especially of Bengal and Behar, long before the Prakrits came into being. The Gipsies appear, therefore, to have migrated from India not later than 1000 B. C.

The question then presents itself, when did these people appear for the first time in the history of Europe? Nothing has hitherto been found to gratify our curiosity on the subject. There are of course a few doubtful references to the Gipsies in some of the writings of the 8th or 9th century A. D., but we have not yet come across any definite mention of the Gipsies in the history of Europe, prior to the 12th century A.D., which has therefore been considered by some of the European scholars to be the probable date of the entrance of the Gipsies into Europe. Taking for granted that the Gipsies appeared in Europe in the 12th century A.D., after they had left India at least 1000 years before the birth of Christ, we are naturally led to ask what these people were doing in the period intervening *i.e.*, before we meet them in the history of Europe. In view of the fact that the Gipsy dialects contain a good many words which are decidedly of Persian and Armenian origin, it is admitted universally that in course of their migration, the

Gipsies had to pass through Persia, Armenia, and some other adjoining lands. It is not therefore quite improbable that the Gipsies had lived at least for 2000 years in Persia, Armenia, Phœnicia, Egypt, and some other adjoining lands. Descendants of the Gipsies are still to be found in all these countries, and specially in Egypt and Asia Minor, where their number is estimated at about 100,000. The Egyptian Gipsies, unlike their European kinsfolk, are found to lead a non-nomadic life. It will not therefore be quite dogmatic to assert that the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Babylonians, who are said to have attained to a high pitch of civilization at a very early age, received at least a part of their civilization from the forefathers of the Gipsies, who had migrated from India at a pre-historic age, and had settled down in all these countries. Whether Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylon, and Chaldea were indebted to the Gipsies for all the civilization these countries could boast of is more than can be safely asserted; but it is proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Gipsies had lived for many centuries in some of the countries lying between India and Europe; and carried with them to those countries at least a part of the Indian culture. It is said that the name 'Gipsy' was given to these people by the Europeans on account of their connection—real or supposed,—with Egypt. The Gipsies are said to have maintained, on their appearance in Europe, that they came from Egypt, or, according to another version, from a country which they called the 'Little' Egypt (Phœnicia or Babylonia?). For several centuries the Europeans were satisfied with this history of the genesis of the Gipsies; but of late, they have come to call these statements of the early Gipsies in question on the ground that these people are evidently of Indian origin. "Thus Gipsy or Gypsy itself (Egyptian in the 16th century)," says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "magyar Pharaoh Nepick (pharaoh's people) and Turkish pharaunic, preserve the belief in its Egyptian origin, a belief which finds no confirmation except in the casual

resemblance between 'Rom' and Egyptian 'Rome' (man)." What the European scholars have hitherto ignored is the fact that it was quite possible for the Gipsies to have been Egyptians as well as of Indian origin. There is no reason to disbelieve that the earliest Gipsies, on their arrival in Europe, called themselves Egyptians; otherwise the name "Egyptian" would not have been given to them. It is for us to consider whether the Gipsies told a deliberate lie or they were justified in calling themselves "Egyptians." It will not however be very easy, at this distance of time, to ascertain whether and how far the earliest Gipsies, on their entrance into Europe, had any memory of India which their ancestors had left many centuries ago. It was at least 2,000 years since the ancestors of the earliest European Gipsies had left India. It is not therefore quite unreasonable to suppose that they had little or no memory, when they found themselves in Europe, of India being their primitive home. Even supposing, they possessed a very nebulous idea that their ancestors had come from India, it was not possible for the Gipsies to claim India as the land of their birth. It was quite natural, that they would name, as their original home, some other country where they had lived for such a considerable length of time. As they maintained, and we have no reason to suppose otherwise, that they had come from Egypt or Little Egypt, they had surely come from Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylon, and the adjoining lands, where they had lived for centuries. No other conclusion can be drawn from the foregoing data. The resemblance between the Gipsy 'Rom' and the Egyptian 'Rome' is not merely casual, as maintained by the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. This resemblance points no doubt to the fact that both the Gipsies and the Egyptians were of the same origin. The recent discovery in Egypt of an image of the Hindu Goddess, "Durga," (with an inscription at the base, "Duggamma," corresponding to Bengali "Durgamā") cannot but lend support to this view. The Egyptian 'Rome' as well

as the Gipsy 'Rom' is nothing but the Indian 'Roumá' or 'Romya.' The earliest name given to Egypt was Misar or Misra, which is assuredly an Indian name, and so is Nile *i.e.*, blue, the name given to the great river. These are not Arabianised Indian names, but they are pure Indian words which had been in use long before the Arabs took possession of the country. For 'Nile' the Arabs substituted their own name, when they established their sway in Egypt. It follows therefore that the Indians came in contact with Egypt, at a certain period of the prehistoric times; and their intercourse with the original inhabitants of the land gave rise to a mixed race, as the name Misra *i.e.*, mixed, seems to imply. An attempt will hereafter be made to enter upon a minute examination of the subject and to consider whether India contributed to an appreciable extent to the civilization which grew in Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylonia, and other countries.

For the present, we rest content with the broad fact that the Gipsies were the descendants of those Indians who had domiciled themselves in all those countries, and that it was some political disturbance of a serious nature (of which we meet with many in all these lands in mediæval ages) that constrained them to kick the dust of the land of their adoption off their feet and take refuge in Europe, in spite of the inclement rigours of its climate and the obdurate inhospitality of its people.

I shall next consider what role the Gipsies played in the growth of civilization in Europe. We are told that in spite of the most cruel and inhumane treatment to which the Gipsies have been subjected by the people of Europe for several centuries, these unfortunate people have not failed to show, even in the present state of their hopeless degeneracy, signs of a very intelligent race. "Everywhere Gipsies ply an endless variety of trades. In Egypt they monopolize the art of serpent charming, in France and Spain they sit as professional models.....Everywhere the men have three principal

callings—workers in metal, musicians, and horse dealers... Gipsies have long been famous as copper and iron smiths in South Eastern Europe, where their horse shoes are reckoned unrivalled. In England, the surname “Petulangro¹ smith, alone recalls the days when Gipsies surpassed the Gentile in the Farrier’s craft. Liszt ascribes to the Gipsies the creation of Hungary’s national music. The Gipsy’s favourite instrument is the violin (Indian, “Bahulin”), but few are the instruments he has not successfully essayed.” Their women are pleasant dancers. “Quick and versatile, all Gipsies readily adapt themselves to any state of life; they have so wonderful a gift of tongues that formerly it was reckoned against them for a proof of sorcery.” It will appear from the foregoing remarks that the earliest Gipsies were a highly cultured people, and brought with them at least a portion of the Indian culture which they naturally disseminated throughout Europe, at a time when that continent was deeply immersed in barbarism and superstition. It has almost universally been admitted that the knowledge of metal was introduced into Europe by the Gipsies. Such was the magnitude of the influence exerted by the Gipsies on European societies that the country Roumania has taken its name after “Romani” and not after Rome, as is generally supposed to be the case.

“Scarce one of the folklore of the Gipsies has yet been published but its counterpart may be found in Grimm’s, Ralston’s or other collections of European folklore.” This resemblance of Romani to Gentile may, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, be satisfactorily explained only by the fact that the European nations have received their stories from the Gipsies.

The marked resemblance of many of the European words to Indian ones has hitherto been explained by the theory of a common origin—the assumption of a common Indo-European stock from which both the Aryan Indians and the Europeans

¹ Pettalankara from pital—brass. The word “Petal” has acquired a secondary significance in England viz., horse shoe.

have descended. Without questioning the validity of the theory, at this early stage of my investigation, I should state that an examination of the Gipsy dialects at my disposal has made me believe that the Gipsies have contributed largely to the enrichment of European vocabularies. That the Europeans borrowed a great many of their words from the Gipsies is evident even on a superficial examination of the Gipsy dialects, hitherto available to us. At present our knowledge of the Gipsy dialects is far too scanty to warrant an exhaustive treatment of the question, and we shall have to wait for further materials before the final conclusion is arrived at ; but the materials already at our disposal will be sufficient to justify the assumption of the indebtedness of Europe to the Gipsies for the development of their language. Let us refer to a few instances which can be multiplied indefinitely:—

(1) The infinitive verb in Sanskrit ends invariably in ‘tum’ as in *kartum*, *jatum*, etc. This ‘tum’ is changed into ‘te’ in Bengali, as in *karite*, *jaite*, etc. It will be interesting to note that this (te) is also in use in the dialect of the Gipsies *e.g.*, Gipsy *Te ja*—Bengali *jaite*—to go, Gipsy *Te kerra*—Bengali *karite*—to do (make). It will be seen that the position of ‘te’ in the Gipsy dialect is not the same as it is in Bengali. While an infinitive verb ends in ‘te’ in Bengali, it is not so in Romani, in which ‘te’ is preceded by the verb. In other words, the order of the verb and the particle ‘te’ is reversed in Romani.

The normal sign of infinitive in Anglo-Saxon was not the preceding ‘to’ as it is in modern English, but the ending ‘an’ which was subsequently changed into ‘in’ or ‘ien’ in mid-English. It is only in the English of the second period (A.D. 1100 to about 1250) that we find that ‘to’ is sometimes used before infinitives. We meet no doubt with the word ‘to’ in Anglo-Saxon, but it is in a different sense, *viz.*, in the sense of motion, rest at, etc., and sometimes to form adverbs. It is therefore quite possible that the particle ‘te’ which is the sign

of infinitive in Romani has passed into the English 'to,' at first as a sign of dative infinitive, and subsequently as that of an infinitive proper.

The contrary assumption that the Gipsy 'te' has been borrowed from the English 'to' is disproved by the fact that the Gipsy 'te', as stated above, is the same as the Bengali 'te' which is only a variation of the Sanskrit 'tum.'

(2) Let us pick up a sentence from the dialect of the Welsh Gipsy. It runs as follows:—

'Te ker tomen matay (Bengali, Karite tomáke matta or matal; Sanskrit, kartum twum mattam)—to make you drunk (mad). Does it not appear that the word 'mad' has been derived from the Gipsy 'Matay'?

(3) Similarly, Gipsy 'bottee,' meaning "work" (Sanskrit britti) is akin to English 'booty,' meaning "spoils" (of war or plunder).

(4) Gipsy 'tras' (Sanskrit 'tras') meaning "fear" may have given rise to 'terror.'

(5) Gipsy 'ishom' (Sans. ashmi) *i.e.*, 'I am,' may have been transformed into 'I am.' It will be seen that the word 'am' is not found in early English.

(6) The word 'devil' (Old English deivel) has evidently originated in the Gipsy 'devel' (god). No wonder that the God of the Gipsies who were looked down upon as heathens and sorcerers should be given a very low character, leading to the conception of an anti-divine being existing in mere fiction.

(7) It is evident that the word 'Barge' has been derived from the Gipsy, 'bearo' (Sanskrit, Barya), meaning a ship.

Innumerable examples of a similar nature can be cited; but I refrain from doing so, till I am in possession of comprehensive information in regard to all the Gipsy dialects.

But what has already been stated leaves very little room for doubt that the Gipsies have played a very prominent part in the spread of civilization in the west.

KAUṬILYA'S PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF HINDU POLITICAL THEORY.

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Abstract of contents :—

Plan of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra—Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's theory—Reasons for rejection—True character of Kauṭilya's work—Peculiar attributes of Kauṭilya's genius—Influence of Kauṭilya upon subsequent political thought.

To estimate aright the place of Kauṭilya in the history of Hindu political thought it is necessary to begin by considering the plan upon which this prince of Arthaśāstra writers based his treatise. For Kauṭilya was nothing if not a systematic writer. We detect this dominant trait of his nature in the methodical arrangement of his voluminous subject-matter in separate Books and Chapters, nay even in the studious care with which (in the first Chapter) he narrates the contents of his work and in the last explains his list of technical terms. What, then, is the object which Kauṭilya set before himself in the preparation of his treatise? A general answer to this question is furnished by the author himself in his opening sentence where he writes, "This single Arthaśāstra has been prepared by summarising nearly all the Arthaśāstra works composed by the former masters with reference to the acquisition and protection of the earth." Thus Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra announces itself as a summary

of the whole Arthaśāstra literature of earlier times. What further evidence is available to indicate the nature of this work? The concluding verse of the author runs as follows :

*yena śāstram ca śastram ca Nandarājagatā ca bhūh
amarṣeṇoddhṛtānyāśu tena śāstramidam kṛtam.*

“This verse,” says Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, (*Carmichael Lectures*, p. 109), is evidently crediting Kauṭilya with having rescued Śāstra, which can here mean Arthaśāstra only. It thus seems that the old works on the Arthaśāstra were being forgotten in his time. And to rescue this Science from oblivion Kauṭilya appears to have made a vigorous attempt at getting hold of the old works, most of which he did succeed in obtaining and which he brought into requisition in composing his treatise.” Now this interpretation seems to us hardly to convey the true meaning of the author. For it fails to account for the word ‘amarṣeṇa’ in the text, since it is inconceivable that the mere neglect of the science by his contemporaries roused Kauṭilya’s indignation. Apart from this verse, Dr. Bhandarkar adduces no evidence in support of his theory. Thus the hypothesis of Kauṭilya’s restoration of the lost Arthaśāstra literature falls to the ground. The true character of Kauṭilya’s work is to be discovered by interpreting the above verse in the light of the attendant circumstances of the times and the testimony of literary tradition. A perusal of Kauṭilya’s work is enough to show what a tangled maze of conflicting views the literature of the early Arthaśāstra had come to be in that author’s time. Such a condition of the science could not but provoke the methodical mind of Kauṭilya and lead him to make a supreme effort to bring order and harmony where chaos reigned. This appears to be the meaning of the words ‘amarṣeṇoddhṛtānyāśu’ applied with reference to the Arthaśāstra in the above verse. The evidence of literary tradition

points to the correctness of this interpretation. An anonymous verse tagged on at the end of Kauṭilya's work is as follows :—

*Dṛṣṭvā vipratipattim bahudhā śāstreṣu bhāṣyakārāṇām
svayameva Viṣṇuguptaścakāra sūtraṅca bhāṣyaṅca.*

Whatever might be the degree of weight attaching to this verse, it, at any rate, contains a pointed reference to the confused condition of the Arthaśāstra and Kauṭilya's restoration of the same to an ordered state. Next we have the testimony of Kāmandaka whose date falls somewhere between 400 and 600 A. D., but who was doubtless in a position to appreciate Kauṭilya's place in relation to the early Arthaśāstra. In one of his introductory verses (I.6) Kāmandaka extols his master as having extracted the nectar of Nitiśāstra out of the ocean of Arthaśāstra. This description certainly involves the assumption, not of the rescue of the Arthaśāstra from oblivion, but of its reconstruction upon the old foundations.

Thus the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is much more than a comprehensive compilation of the early literature on the subject; it involves practically a new creation of the science. Well may Kāmandaka, an enthusiastic disciple and admirer of Kauṭilya, acclaim his master as the maker of a new science.¹ In the performance of his arduous task Kauṭilya had to pass in review a whole series of political categories and concepts which had been bequeathed to him by the early masters of the Arthaśāstra, and it is precisely in connection with this survey that he displays the characteristic attributes of his genius. First among these qualities may be mentioned the nice balance and sense of proportion which led

¹ His actual words are: "Nitiśāstramṛitam śrīmānarthaśāstramahodadheh ya uddadhre namastasmai Viṣṇuguptāya vedhase" where the word 'vedhas' is used, as the commentator remarks, because of Kauṭilya's preparation of a separate science (prithak-śāstra prapayanāt).

our author, in the face of the radical schools of Manu, Brhaspati and Śukra, to revert to the traditional category of four sciences (vidyās).¹ A more important trait of the author is the remarkable breadth and elasticity of his mind which showed itself in his rejection of the stiff and formal rules of the Mānavas, the Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas,² and his wisely leaving a large amount of discretion to the ruling prince.³ An equally remarkable feature of Kauṭilya's system is its strong monarchist note which makes the author place the king at the head of the *prakṛtis*⁴ and even identify the king and the State,⁵ and further to proclaim a theory of kingly origin in which history and dogma are pressed into the service of political philosophy to emphasise and inculcate the subject's duty of respectful submission to the king.⁶ We may also mention without comment Kauṭilya's extraordinary passion for statecraft which glows almost through every one of his pages. This branch of his subject was doubtless derived by the author as a legacy from the early Arthaśāstra, but he seems to have given it an immense development. The Kauṭilyan diplomacy, moreover, while strongly tinged with the Machiavellianism of the older masters, occasionally betrays, as in its rejection of the heinous suggestion of perverting the mind of the young prince by way of safeguard,⁷ the sign of an awakened moral consciousness.

Let us consider in conclusion the influence of Kauṭilya in moulding the subsequent development of Hindu political theory. In the sphere of the science of polity Kauṭilya became the honoured founder of a school which was represented in later times by writers so far apart from each other as Kāmandaka and Somadevasūri, the Jaina author of the Nītivākyāṃṛtam. In the 7th century of the Christian era

¹ Kaut. p. 6.

² Ibid, pp. 29, 63, 192.

³ Ibid p. 28.

⁴ Ibid p. 322 : *tatkuṣasthānīyo hi svāmī*.

⁵ Ibid p. 825 : *rājā rājyamiti prakṛtisañkṣepah*.

⁶ Ibid pp. 22-23.

⁷ Ibid p. 33.

the followers of Kauṭilya formed such a distinctive group as to be singled out for castigation by the author of the *Kādamvari*.¹ The ideas of Kauṭilya along with those of other masters of the *Arthaśāstra* were popularised through the literature of fables and parables, since the *Panchatantra* and the *Tantrākhyāyikā* both acknowledge their indebtedness to Chāṇakya's *Arthaśāstra*.² Nor was Kauṭilya's influence restricted to the domain of the secular science of polity. To him belongs the credit of fixing most of the concepts and categories of the *Arthaśāstra*³ so as to give them the stamp of finality so far as the later Brāhminical canon and literature of *Nītiśāstra* are concerned. It is moreover permissible to conjecture, though we are here treading on a slippery ground, that Kauṭilya's remarkable synthesis of the early *Arthaśāstra* literature prepared the way for the wholesale incorporation of the *Arthaśāstra* thought into the Brāhminical canon which is the keynote of the *Rājadharmā* sections of the *Manusamhitā* and the *Mahābhārata*.

¹ Vide the extract quoted by Dr. Shāmaśāstri (English translation of the *Arthaśāstra*, Introduction, p. vi).

² Compare *Tantrākhyāyikā*, J. Hertel's edition. p. 4.

³ Examples are Kauṭilya's theory of the complex nature of punishment (*daṇḍa*) (Ibid p. 9), his curriculum of the king's studies (Ibid pp. 10-11), his arrangement of the 'limbs' of the State in the order of their descending importance (Ibid pp. 322-324) and his comparative estimate of the king's vices in which anger is held to be a more serious evil than love of pleasure (Ibid pp. 327-328).

THE PLACE OF VIDEHA IN THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA.

BY

KUMAR GANGANANDA SINHA, M.A.

What was the condition of Videha during the period of the Vedic Samhitās no body knows for certain. In the earlier part of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa there is a legend in which we have unmistakable reference to the eastward migration of the Aryans. From it we know that the Brahmanic settlement and culture were first introduced into Videgha (or Videha, the capital of Mithilā) by Māthava whose family priest was Gotama Rāhugaṇa. That the Brahmanic culture must have made a very rapid progress in the country is evident from the fact that the latter part of the same book depicts the country as the centre of intellectual activity of the age.

Janaka, the contemporary of Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, of Svetaketu Āruṇeya and other sages, was himself deeply imbued with the Brahmanic culture and his patronage induced learned Brahmins to desert the neighbouring kingdom of Kuru-Panchāla, which was still the centre of Brahmanic activities, and flock to his court. So much so, that he seems to have excited the envy of Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī. It is interesting to note that the story of a Videhan princess forms the theme of some of the noblest products of the Indian literature. We shall see later on that Vaidehis became mothers of the two great empire-builders of ancient India, *viz.*, Ajātaśatru and Samudra Gupta.

The process of development continued till at last the movement started by Yājñavalkya culminated in the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. It is clearly perceptible in the

affinity between the doctrines of the Upanishads and the teachings of Purana Kassapa, Ajita Kesakambali, Pakuda Kachchhāyana, Saṃjaya Belattaputta, and Mankhaliputta Gosāla, as well as in the nearness of relation between the doctrines of these persons and those of Mahāvira and Buddha. When Jainism arose the country was infected, so to say, with speculative firment and new sophistic mania which brought about the healthy development of Indian mind. At this time the monarchical form of government had given way to the gaṇa form and the Videhas of Mithilā had formed one of the eight clans of the Vajjian confederacy. It was very intimately connected with the Lichchhāvis of Vaisālī, just another member of the Vajjian confederacy. It is very significant that the Brahmanic influence was totally absent from the regions that were under the sway of the tribal republics. Something like ancestor worship was prevalent among them. The Parivrajaka movement was largely fostered by these ruling clans. It is indeed one of the most interesting and important problems to see how far Jainism and Buddhism were influenced in their inception by the national character and religion of the tribes. This is however certain that the influence of Mahāvira, with whom we enter into a new period of thought evolution when the question of the freedom of WILL obsessed the minds of the Indian thinkers, was very much felt in Videha, which was the land of his birth. Buddha visited the land on many occasions and made numerous converts.

The Lichchhāvis were the independent masters of Videha till the time of Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha. Bimbisāra Sreṇika made matrimonial alliance with them. Ajātaśatru, himself a Vaidehiputra, waged war against them and after a hard and protracted struggle crushed their independence. Since this time it became a part of the Magadhan empire.

The Lichchhāvis retained an influential position for many centuries. The marriage of Chandra Gupta I with Kumāra

Devi, a Lichchhavi princess, at the close of 3rd century A.C. laid the foundation of the greatness of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty and up to the 7th century the tribe supplied a line of rulers in the Nepal valley. It is evident from the seals excavated by Bloch at Basārḥ that Tirabhukti (or Tirhut), as Videha was then called, was an important part of the Gupta empire and was ruled by a prince of royal blood.

After the Guptas the Pālas held sway over Videha. From them it passed in the 17th year of Nārāyaṇa Pāla's reign to probably the hands of the Pratihāras. Mahipāla I recovered the country to his family in his 48th regnal year. Mr. R. D. Banerji is of opinion that in the year 1020 A.D., Tirhut (or Mithilā) passed into the hands of Gāṅgeyadeva Chedi and ceased to form a part of the Pāla dominion. We should note here that the copy of Rāmāyana, which Mr. Banerji takes for his support, mentions Tirabhukti as being in possession of Gāṅgeyadeva in year V. S. 1076. It does not say whether he is of Chedi, Haihaya, or Kalachuri descent. On the other hand, he is called 'Gaudavamsodbhava,' showing that he was a Bengalee and not a Chedi.

From the Pālas the sceptre passed into the hands of the Senas whose power was destroyed by the Musalmans. It should not however be thought that the glory of Videha passed away. The country still produced great men like Vidyāpati and Gangesa Upādhyāya.

THE UPANISHADS AS THE LAND-MARK IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN THOUGHT*

BY

PROF. CARLO FORMICHI

I

THE UPANISHADIC PERIOD

On the eve of leaving this land of India, so dear to my heart, the best farewell I can give her is to address so choice a public as this University of Calcutta offers to a lecturer. This my privilege is made the more precious by the subject I have chosen—the *Upanishads*. They are so representative of the Indian mentality, so far removed from anything the West has produced in the field of spirituality, that they may be considered as the touchstone for a Western scholar, as to whether and how much he can understand and appreciate the Indian way of thinking. The synthetical survey, which I shall attempt of the main points of the Upanishadic doctrine, would not have been possible had I not profited by both the oral teaching and the books of my revered *Guru*, Paul Deussen, to whose sacred memory allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to convey at this hour a thought of faithful thankfulness.

In the West we consider the Upanishads as *the* Gospel of India, and there is no sensible man, I think, who would speak of them with less than a certain awe and deep respect. Like men, books which have succeeded in getting a time-honoured reputation amongst millions of human beings become venerable and precious by this same fact of having stood the test of centuries and number. Imposture and quackery are not long in demolishing themselves. Mr. Gough's endeavour

* Readership Lectures delivered at the University of Calcutta in March, 1926.

to lower the level of the Upanishads has done wrong to nothing but his own credit.

Yet, what we have so often had to remark concerning the omission of Indian literature to separate the gold from the dross, holds good even with respect to the Upanishads. They are far from being a mass of pure gold ; they must be sifted and filtered before they can be duly relished ; they are a mixture of sublimity and triviality, of clear-sightedness and ignorance. In them we sometimes listen to the revelations of a seer, and sometimes to the nonsense of a quack.

Let us take, for instance, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. It is a real gem, as we shall have ample occasion to testify. And yet there are passages in it which really disgrace it, and which cannot but quench enthusiasm and arouse considerable mistrust for the whole of the treatise, in an inexperienced Western reader.

In the most serious manner, for example, it is suggested in VI, 4, 10 that a certain regulation of breathing is quite enough to solve the thorny problem of over-increase of population. Malthus did not know of this, otherwise he would not have vainly racked his brain to find out the solution !

Western science leaves to charlatans the question of how it is possible to transfer from nature to man the power of deciding whether a boy or a girl has to be born. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, on the contrary, confidently states (VI, 4, 14) that "the man who wants a male-child, fair-complexioned, peruser of one Veda and long-lived, must cook a porridge of rice and milk. He and his wife have then only to eat it with clarified butter in order to become fit to beget a son of this description. He who wants a male-child, dark-complexioned, dark-eyed, peruser of two Vedas and long-lived, must cook a porridge of rice and sour milk. If he and his wife then eat it with clarified butter, they will become fit to beget a son of this description. He who wants a male-child, dark-complexioned, reddish-eyed, peruser of three Vedas and long-lived, must

cook a porridge of rice and pure water. If he and his wife then eat it with clarified butter, they will become fit to beget a son of this description. He who wants a female-child, learned and long-lived, must cook a porridge of rice and sesame. If he and his wife then eat it with clarified butter, they will become fit to beget a daughter of this description. He who wants a male-child learned, illustrious, always attending meetings of scholars, always speaking words listened to, peruser of four Vedas and long-lived, must cook a porridge of rice and meat. If he and his wife then eat it with clarified butter, they will become fit to beget a son of this description. It matters not if the meat taken be the flesh of an ox or of a bull." Only Indians can tolerate that such absurdities and quackeries should go in the same text hand in hand with thoughts which are the expression of extreme enlightenment and wisdom, as that, for instance, so often repeated in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, of the *ātman* being the seer not seen, the hearer not heard, the knower not known and so on. We must not forget that even now-a-days this thought constitutes the starting point of metaphysics ; conscience cannot be conscious of itself, and everything that man knows is an estrangement, a keeping aloof from his self.

In the *Chāndogya*—another standard Upanishad,—we are confronted with the same mixture of puerile assertions and the noblest of daring thoughts. Our text, for instance (I, 2, 1-9), wants to account for the fact that our nose can decide quite well whether a thing is fragrant, or malodorous. The Gods, it explains, tried in the beginning, in order to defeat the demons, to avail themselves of that portion of the *rathāntara* song, which is called *udgītha*, and they worshipped it as the breath in the nostrils. But the demons, resorting to evil as a weapon, pierced the breath ; therefore our nose can feel good and bad smells. Of course, the priest who devised such a medley—mythological, ritual, and physiological—meant something. Perhaps he wanted to extol *prāṇa* in its pure

and absolute essence which is beyond good as well as evil. Yet, there is no gainsaying the fact that such medley must appear to a European reader, and practically is, the tale of an ignoramus.

In the same text we meet with the following cosmogonic myth (VI, 2, 1-4): "In the beginning there was entity alone and no second thing besides. Some say that in the beginning there was non-entity alone, and no second thing besides, therefore entity was brought forth by non-entity. But how can this be so, how is it ever possible that entity should have originated from non-entity? No, in the beginning there was entity alone, and no other thing besides. This entity thought: 'may I become many, may I beget children,' and he effused fire. That fire thought: 'may I become many, may I beget children,' and it emitted water: therefore, man sweats whenever he overheats himself, and from heat water originates. That water thought: 'may I become many, may I beget children,' and it gave birth to corn: therefore, corn grows whenever it rains, and from water corn and every other kind of food is derived."

The more one muses over this cosmogonic hymn, the more one is bound to wonder at its deep purport. The rejection of the notion that the world may have sprung out of nothing, at once bears witness to the scientific instinct of the Indian thinker, while not precluding the possibility of metaphysics and religion agreeing with science. Entity cannot have had a beginning, but it has been and will remain for ever. Fire is at the root of creation. Is not love, the sole begetter of all things, fire itself? Fire preceded water. Why? If we know how to read in the book of Nature, taken as a unity and not as split up by conventional barriers implying the severing of the physical from the physiological world and of the latter from the psychological, we at once see heat produce water when first the sun parches our earth and then clouds pour water upon it; when first *kāma* scalds man's

frame and then seed kindles a new life; when first toil overheats the labourer in the fields and then sweat moistens his brow, when first sorrow burns the heart and then tears flow from the eyes. Oh, the blessing of the ignorance of Physics, of Physiology and of Psychology, that made it possible for the Indian seer to bring together the four phenomena in order to show the anteriority of fire in respect to water in the great unity of Nature!

We have here the best illustration of the method of the Upanishads: the laws of Physics may only formally differ from those of Physiology and Psychology: substantially they are the same. It is not man alone who thinks, suffers, rejoices, weeps and laughs, but all things in this huge Universe think, suffer, rejoice, weep and laugh. The star twinkling in the firmament is aspiring to the same goal as man, loving and meditating.

Thus from the puerile myth of the origin of the faculty of smelling good and bad odours we pass over, in the one and the same text, to the broad, enlightening myth of the origin of the world from an eternal entity that in the whole range of Nature brought forth successively fire, water, food. There is undoubtedly a lack of discipline in the way of speculating of all these Indian seers: but we have to grant that undisciplined thought makes the best conquests in the realm of metaphysics and poetry.

It is not knowledge that we have to seek for in the Upanishads, but intuitive presentiments and natural wisdom. The seer of the Upanishads scorns traditional lore and the knowledge that we should style bookish. Nārada in the *Chāndogya* (VII, 1) says to Sanatkumāra that he knows the whole of the Vedas and also the profane sciences (*Kṣātra-vidyā*), whereupon Sanatkumāra tells him quite frankly: "All that you have learned is nothing but words (*yad vai kiñcāitad adhyayaṣṭhā nāmāivāitat*).” Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāranyaka* (IV, 4, 21) tells king Janaka, that the *brāhmaṇa* who really

wants emancipation must give up the study of the Vedas, for they are mere words fit only to tire the voice (*nānudhyā yad bahūñ chabdān vāco vilāparam hi tat*). We read in *Chāndogya* (VII, 5, 2) that people listen to him who knows little but who has got insight (*yady alpavic cittavān bhavati tasmā evota sūsruṣante*). It is said in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (III, 5, 1) that a *brāhmaṇa* who really wants emancipation has to become sick of knowledge and be like a little child (*pāṇḍityam nirvidya bālyena tiṣṭhāsed*). Here we have the parallel to the evangelical saying that for one who does not become like the little children, the kingdom of heaven will be ever shut (Matth. XVIII, 3).

The truth after which the seer of the Upanishads is seeking is a spiritual one and of a subjective nature. It is something which must be experienced, and which, being experienced, enables man to overcome all the afflictions of life (*tarati śokam ātmaṇi*—*Chānd.* VII, 1); something, which being known, nothing else in the world remains to be known, just as clay, copper, iron, being known respectively through an earthen pot, a button, a pair of nail-scissors, are practically known in their substantial and universal expression (*yathāikena mr̥tpiṇḍena, lohamaṇinā, nakhanikṛntanena sarvam mr̥nmayaṁ, lohamayaṁ, kārṣṇāyāsaṁ vijñātam*—*Chānd.* VI, 1, 1-5). What we, then, call knowledge is quite a poor thing in comparison with the wisdom the Upanishads promise to man, with the powers they can furnish him with: a man possessed of the Upanishadic truth becomes the thing itself,—the thing that he knows and loves. It is stated (*Bṛhadār.* VI, 1, 1) that “He who knows that which is the noblest and the best, becomes the noblest and the best among his relations (*yo ha vāi jyeṣṭhaṁ ca śreṣṭhaṁ ca veda, jyeṣṭhaś ca śreṣṭhaś ca svānām bhavati*).” In *Muṇḍaka* III, 2, 9, we read: “He who knows the highest *brahman* becomes *Brahma* (*yo ha vāitat paramam brahma veda, brahmā-iva bhavati*).”

The Upanishads are quite outspoken in proclaiming their own excellence ; they style themselves as the *rasānām rasah* (essences among essences), the *amṛtānām amṛtāni* (nectars among nectars), the *guhya ādesāḥ* (teachings which must be kept secret—*Chānd.* III, 5, 1, 2, 4), the revelation that keeps a man in a perpetual noon and allows him no more to see the sun rise or set (*Chānd.* III, 11, 3: *na ha vā asmā udeti na nimlocati sakṛd divā ihāivāsmāi bhavati ya etām eva brahmapaniṣadam veda*), the wealth that is superior to the earth replenished with gold (*nānyasmāi kasmāicana yady apy asmā imām adbhīḥ parigrhītām dhanasya pūrṇām dadyād etad eva tato bhūya ity etad eva tato bhūya iti*—*Chānd.* III, 11, 6), the wisdom that leads to immortality and which is far superior to traditional knowledge (*Muṇḍaka*, 1, 1, 4-5; *dve vidye veditavya iti ha sma yad brahmavido vadanti parā cāivāparā ca*;..... *parā, yayā tad akṣaram adhigamyate*). The Upanishadic doctrine is deemed such a precious thing that it may only be trusted to a first-born son or to a worthy and faithful pupil (*Chānd.* III, II, 5; *Svetās.* VI, 22). The word *Upaniṣad* itself implies something which is esoteric, secret, mysterious, awful (*Chānd.* 1, 13, 4; *Tāittir.* III; *Bṛhadār.* II, 1, 20; *Svetās.* V, 6).

Evidently we are confronted either by a gigantic imposture or by some exquisite and sublime conquest of human virtue and human thought.

I have already hinted at the fact that impostures are short-lived and cannot stand the mouldering corrosion of time. Only truth has got in itself the adamant nature that defies centuries as well as the chisel of human criticism. Impostures, moreover, never ally themselves with a high standard of morals, implying renunciation of worldly interests and eradication of passions. We read in the *Kāṭhaka* (II, 23); *nāvirato duṣcaritān nāśānto nāsamāhitah, nāśāntamānaso vāpi prajñānenānam āpnuyāt* (He who has not put an end to evil-doing, in whom the fire of passion is not yet extinct,

and the mind, far from being collected, is restless, will never attain to Him, even with the aid of great intelligence).

The *Śvetāśvatara*, likewise (VI, 22, 23), states that the Upanishadic revelation must be withheld from the man who has not overcome passion (*nāpraśāntāya dātavyam*), for it becomes light only for the great soul whose devotion to God is as deep as that for his teacher (*yasya deve parā bhaktir yathā deve tathā gurāu, tasyāite kathitā hy arthāḥ prakāśante mahātmanah, prakāśante mahātmana iti*).

Whenever a holy life is presupposed to be the basis of an intellectual or spiritual effort, the threatening danger of imposture or of infatuation ceases at once. Not what a man knows, but what a man does, will ever be the best criterion to judge whether and how far we have to believe in him and follow his teaching. Holiness will ever be the greatest and most stupendous attainment of man, because holiness will ever be the most difficult thing to be attained by man. The seers of the Upanishads were holy men; and we have, therefore, to examine their teachings with the same reverence that we feel in entering a temple.

Let us not expect to find in the Upanishads a logical system of philosophy. They cannot be read as we generally read books, in which the second chapter is the continuation of the first, the third the continuation of the second, and so on. The Upanishads are a collection of the sayings of old sages, which have been handed down through various schools, and which are not above the suspicion of adjustments, re-elaborations and interpolations. We meet in them with two quite different kinds of contradictions. Nature, life, is full of contradictions, and it is to kill nature, to belie life, therein to introduce our logic. Consistency is not a need of nature, but of our intellect. The great poets teem with contradictions in their works, and yet they are and will ever remain the true prophets of humanity. Contradictions of this kind, which faithfully reflect nature, are often to be met with in the

Upanishads. Logic is dogmatic and does not allow us any choice; it decides, and then forces its decision upon us, it makes us passive; it immures our freedom of thought,—the suggestive promptings of our feeling and of our intuition,—into the prison of a syllogism, into the dungeon of an argument. We never experience this sense of limitation and oppression in reading the Upanishads. On the contrary, they stimulate our thought, they offer us a problem and leave the solution of it to our own discrimination. We have to open the book at random, read half a page, nay, a single line, and then meditate for hours. The following day we may chance on another passage that sets the same problem, put before us yesterday, from quite a different point of view. We shall have again to meditate, and at the end of our meditation we shall realize that what seemed to us a contradiction was simply Truth, together with a respect for our right of judging and selecting for ourselves. The most valuable books, the most precious teachers, are not those who point out to us the solution of a problem, but rather those who set the problem before us and leave to us the joy of solving it for ourselves. We read, for instance, in *Chāndogya* I, 8, 1: “Force, indeed, surpasses intelligence, for a single strong man can make hundreds of intelligent men tremble (*balam vāva vijñānād būh्यo api ha śatam vijñānavatām eko balavān akampayate*). This crude assertion makes us wince, and we desperately struggle against its acceptance. But it has nevertheless a deep truth in itself which cannot help being acknowledged by us. Oh, the privilege of being strong! Anyhow, we come out dissatisfied and downcast from our meditation. We feel that we are possessed of only a half-truth. Then we chance to read in *Bṛhadāranyaka* 1, 4, 14: ‘Nothing is superior to *Dharma*; therefore relying on *Dharma* as on a king, the weak one denounces the strong one (*dharmāt param nāsty atho abaliyān baliyāmsam āsāmsate dharmena yathā 1 ājñā*). Blending together these two apparently contradictory sentences,

we have before us life itself,—with the undeniable privileges of force and the ineffable blessings of *Dharma*.

As to the other kind of contradictions depending on interpolations, they are really distressing and have to be removed, though with the greatest caution. For instance, we read in the *Kāthaka*, II, 8, that without a *guru*, a worthy teacher, who leads to the acquirement of the *ātman*-truth, every mental effort is vain (*ananya-prokte gatih atra nāsti*). This is quite in keeping with numberless analogous utterances met with in other Upanishads: “The wisdom imparted by a teacher is the most effectual (*ācāryād dhaiva vidyā veditā sādhiṣṭham prāpayati: Chānd. IV, 93*);” “let him, holding wood in his hand, resort to a teacher (*gurum evābhigacchet samitpāniḥ: Muṇḍ. I, 2, 12*).” The word *Upaniṣad* itself implies that a disciple is sitting near his master in order to receive from him the revelation of a precious mystery.

In spite of all this, the 23rd stanza of the *Kāthaka*, II, states quite the reverse: The *ātman*-doctrine cannot be acquired through teaching, or through the intellect or great learning; it can be grasped only by him who has been chosen by *ātman* itself, which then selects his body as its own body (*nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śrutena, yam evāiṣa vṛṇute tena labhyas tasyāiṣa ātmā vivṛṇute tanum svām*). Here *ātman* is represented as a personal God dispensing his graces according to his caprice; and the notion of predestination is introduced as a most jarring note in the harmonious chorus of the Upanishads proclaiming man to be the one and sole author of his own destiny. The interpolation is evident, and it is not the only in the text of the *Kāthaka*, as I have tried to show in my new book on *The Religious Thought of India before Buddha*, which must have appeared in Italy these last weeks.

After these general remarks, let us consider the historical atmosphere and the social conditions such as can be

conjectured on the basis of the data furnished by the Upanishads themselves.

We have often had occasion to realize that history in India has to be extracted from myths and legends. This holds good also with respect to the Upanishads. The main lines, however, of the social conditions and of the standard of civilization in the Upanishadic period may, I think, be confidently traced. We cannot, for instance, entertain the least doubt concerning the fact that a large number of princes and wealthy men lavished big sums of money on learned and illustrious philosophers and Brāhmans, invited them to their courts, argued with them on theological and philosophical topics, taking even more interest in the disputes and controversies of the great thinkers than in the affairs of state.

Janaka, king of Videha, is one of these princes. To his court the most learned Brāhmans flocked from every side, in order to take part in a certain theological disputation. To the winner the king promised a thousand cows from whose horns would be hung bags of gold. The cows were ready there, as soon as the Brāhmans had assembled. The king, pointing to the cows, said: "Venerable Brāhmans, let him take away this cattle, who will prove to be the best knower of *Brahman* (*brahmiṣṭhaḥ*).” Yājñavalkya comes forward at once, and bids his pupil Samaravas to take possession of the cows. Such arrogance urges eight among the present Brāhmans, and also a learned woman, Gārgī, Vacaknu's daughter, to challenge Yājñavalkya to a theological discussion. The nine adversaries are in turn discomfited, so that Yājñavalkya gets the cows without any more opposition (*Bṛhadār.* III, 1-9). Another time, Yājñavalkya calls again on the king, who asks him: "Are you come to get other cows, or to be questioned and then knowingly make answer about philosophical topics?" "I am here," the sage replies, "for the one as well as for the other object." A dialogue ensues wherein Yājñavalkya displays such an amount of

spiritual learning that, at the end, Janaka, having reached the supreme truth as well as the peace of his own soul, resigns his kingdom and himself to the sage (*Bṛhadār.* IV, 1, 1, 2, 4). And a still more famous dialogue between Janaka and Yājñavalkya is mentioned in the same Upanishad (IV, 3, 4). The king asks: "Which is the true light of man?" The seer knows so well how to rouse the enthusiasm of the prince, that the dialogue ends, this time also, with the words: "O venerable sage, I give up this my people, and myself, in thralldom to thee."

Another noble type of learned and munificent prince is undoubtedly Ajātaśatru, of Kāśī. He also liked to converse and dispute with theologians, and many times he defeated them, as when, for instance, Bālāki Gārgya goes to him in order to enlighten him on the mystery of *Brahman*, and is made, instead, to realize that the king is a better theologian than he, and that he has to take the humble place of a disciple. "That a Brāhman," Ajātaśatru avows, "should go to a Kshatriya in order to be instructed about what *Brahman* is, means to invert things (*pratilomam vāi tad yad brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyam upeyād, brahma me vakṣyatīti—Bṛhadār.* II, 1, 15)." This is not the only instance of the most suggestive fact that the priest acknowledges in the Upanishads his own inferiority in religious knowledge before a Kshatriya, and asks of him initiation into the sacred truths. We shall have to come back to this important point, that puts beyond question the truth I am pointing out, of the existence of a lay and dynamical thought in ancient Indian society, which accounts for the final stupendous outburst of Buddhism.

King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, in a theological discussion on the *udgītha* with the two learned Brāhmins Śilaka and Caikitāyana, has the best of it (*Chānd.* I, 8). The same prince reveals to the famous Brāhman, Uddālaka Āruṇi, and to his son Svetaketu, the progress of the soul after the death of the body. He states that, owing to this knowledge, the

caste of the warriors has got the right of command in the worlds (*tasmād sarveṣu lokeṣu kṣatrasyaiva prasādanam abhūt*—*Chānd.* V, 3).

King Aśvapati Kaikeya is proclaimed as a teacher by the same Uddālaka Āruṇi, the only man able to give lessons on *Brahman* and *Ātman*. He tells five priests who have gone to him for instruction: "O revered ones, King Aśvapati Kaikeya imparts now lessons on the *Ātman* that is in all men; let us, then, go to him (*Aśvapatir vāi, bhagavanto, yam Kaikeyaḥ sampratīmam ātmānam vāiśvānaram adhyeti tam hantābhyāgacchāma*—*Chānd.* V. II, 4)." The celebrated Brāhman sage, Nārada, acknowledges that all he has learned has not emancipated him from the afflictions of life. This acknowledgment is made to Sanatkumāra, either the god of war himself, or a personage bearing his name, and therefore representing the caste of the warriors. Sanatkumāra, the warrior, is able to bestow on Nārada, the priest, the knowledge of *Ātman* which enables man to overcome grief and sorrow (*Chānd.* VII, 1, 1-3).

Our list of Upanishadic kings, celebrated on account of their learning, is far from being complete, but we have already enough material to give us notice of an important element of Indian society in that remote period: many a prince eagerly took to philosophy and kept alive spiritual interests by not grudging rewards to the learned.

The example set by the princes was followed by wealthy men, as, for instance, by Jānaśruti, a pious and charitable man, who built guest-houses and hospitals all over the country in order that the poor might always find a roof under which to rest, food to stay their hunger, and medical attendance to relieve their sufferings. Once upon a time Jānaśruti happened to overhear two swans that were saying to each other: "This Jānaśruti's shining glory spreads like sunshine." "Why, thou speakest of him, as if he were Raikva nicknamed the owner of the two-wheeler!" On hearing

these words, Jānaśruti wondered who this Raikva might be, the lustre of whose reputation so much overshadowed his own; and he had inquiries made about him, until one of his servants chanced to see in the public road a man who, crouching under a cart, was engaged in scratching his itches. It was Raikva, the great sage. Jānaśruti hastened to offer him six hundred cows, gold, and a coach drawn by mules, asking in exchange that he should tell him who the deity was whom he was wont to worship. Raikva scornfully replied to him: "Keep for yourself, O slave, your cows, your gold and your coach, and leave me in peace." Jānaśruti nothing daunted, goes back to his house, adds to the number of six hundred another four hundred cows, and to the gold and the coach his own lovely, marriageable daughter, and presenting himself again to Raikva addresses him with the words: "Here are for you one thousand cows, here is gold, here is a mule-yoked coach, here is a bride and a whole village to dwell in: do, please, reveal to me your deity." Raikva came near the girl, lifted up her head, declared his acceptance of the gifts, and said: "This pretty face, O slave, would alone have been enough to make me speak." And thus, Jānaśruti knew who was the deity that Raikva was wont to worship.

This Indian sage who has nothing but his knowledge, and his itches, and yet proudly scorns rich people who humbly bow before him, does he not remind us of the Greek Diogenes, does he not effectively characterize an age? (*Chānd.* IV, 1, 8).

Characteristic of the age is also the story of the young Satyakāma. He wants to become a *brahmacārin* and to study the Vedas. Before being admitted into the house of a teacher, he has to prove that he has been lawfully born of a Brāhman. But Satyakāma has no father, and he learns from his mother that he is an illegitimate son. He nevertheless goes to Hāridrumata, a learned teacher, and asks of him tuition. Questioned about his birth the

straightforward young man does not hesitate to acknowledge his shameful origin. Hāridrumata, quite won by his candour, exclaims: "Only the son of a Brāhmaṇ can speak so straightforwardly," and accepts him in his house as his disciple. Satyakāma, of course, became a great sage, and we admire Hāridrumata's broadness of view that practically got the better of the prejudice of caste (*Chānd.* IV, 4).

Let us now pass over to the women of the Upanishads. The place of honour has, undoubtedly, to be allotted to Maitreyī, Yājñavalkya's wife. Her story is quite well known and can be summed up in the refusal with which she meets the proposal of being made the heir to the material, rather than the spiritual, wealth of her husband. She does not want riches that do not lead to immortality. She says to her husband: "Even if you were to give me the whole earth, replete with gold, what would be the use of it to me? Give me that which can make me immortal: the treasure of thy knowledge" (*Bṛhadār.* II, 4, 1; IV, 5, 2). Even cleverer than Maitreyī, though not as exquisitely gentle as she, is Gārgī, Vacaknu's daughter, whom we had already occasion to mention among Yājñavalkya's rivals on the occasion of the theological tournament at the court of King Janaka. She bravely bows her head twice to the invincible seer, and she is the first to acknowledge his superiority and to advise the other eight Brāhmaṇs to give in and pay their homage to him. Vidagdha Sākalya did not listen to her wise suggestion, and he dearly paid for it, inasmuch as his head was split, and his bone carried away by some robbers who deluded themselves into the belief that those bones were something valuable and precious (*Bṛhadār.* III, 6, 8, 9, 26).

We read also (in *Bṛhadār.* III, 3, 7), about women beset by a Gandharva, who thereupon become clear-sighted and able to solve problems of theology.

Another important element that we have to keep in view in our attempt to get an idea of the social conditions in the

Upanishadic period, is the figure of the ascetic. Professor Jacobi says that at the end of the R̥gvedic period there arose a class of men who practised penance (*tapas*) instead of sacrifices (*yajña*). In the *Śatapatha* they are called *śramaṇa*, and they appear as antagonists of the officiating priests. *Tapas* is considered to be an irresistible power. The Gods themselves resort to it, especially Prajāpati when he wants to create the world. There is in the *Brāhmaṇas* a certain competition between *tapas* and *yajña*.

In the Upanishadic period *tapas* becomes more and more preponderant. The tendency exalting *tapas* at the expense of *yajña* is more then ever apparent in the Upanishads, which, like the *Muṇḍaka*, draw their origin from outside the Brāhmaṇical circles.

I shall point to some of the most characteristic passages aiming at the glorification of *tapas* and at the lowering of *yajña*.

The *dakṣiṇā*, or fee, was a thing of paramount importance for officiating priests, inasmuch as it constituted their livelihood. Yet we read in the *Chāndogya* (III, 17, 4) that the *tapas* (penance), *dānam* (charity), *ārjavam* (righteousness), *ahiṃsā* (non-killing) and *satya vacanam* (truth-telling), are the true *dakṣiṇā*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (IV, 4, 22) states that all Brāhmaṇs who have known what *Brahman* is, become ascetics and live on alms (*bhikṣācaryam caranti*).

A passage in the *Kauṣītaki* (II, 5) condemns sacrifices and offerings and states that the sages of yore never practised the *agnihotra* (*purve vidvāṃso'gnihotram na juhavām cakruḥ*). We have only to think of the importance of the *agnihotra* with Brāhmaṇs to realize the heretical purport of that sentence.

Another Upanishad (*Muṇḍaka*, I, 2, 10, 11) confirms that thinking oblations and ceremonies to be the highest thing, blockheads fail to become aware of a still loftier blessing. But those who, dwelling in a wood, live merely

on alms, and, through *tapas* and faith (*śraddhā*), get knowledge and peace,—these men, indeed, cleansed from earthly dust, go through the sun, to the place where the immortal Puruṣa is, He whose soul is imperishable (*iṣṭāpūrtam manyamānā variṣṭham nānyac chreyo vedayante pramūdhāḥ.....; tapaḥśrad-dhe ye hy upavasanty arāṇye śāntā vidvāṁso bhāikṣācaryām carantaḥ, sūrya-dvārena te virajāḥ prayānti yatrāmṛtaḥ sa puruṣo hy avyayātmā*).

In *Praśna* (I, 15) we find matrimony disavowed, for the world of *Brahman* belongs only to those who in chastity practise austerities (*ye prajāpativratam carante te mithu-nam utpādayante: teṣāṁ evāiṣa brahmaloko yeṣāṁ tapo brahmacaryam yeṣu satyam pratiṣṭhitam*).

The ascetic is therefore quite the reverse of the Brāhman. The latter does not shun, but rather seeks familiar ties, has got no aversion to property and riches, makes the most of rites and observances; while the former is a revolutionary who considers wife and children as a hindrance to spiritual perfection, who makes light external ceremonies, and in lieu thereof expects every revelation from internal religious fervour and who, above all, tramples on wealth as on the most dangerous and loathsome allurements to evil.

We may confidently state that the Upanishadic spirit is irreconcilable with wealth, and in this characteristic I think I perceive a deeply religious disposition. Complete and sincere renunciation of worldly enjoyments is the basis of every truly religious life. Worshippers of the True God never were at the same time worshippers of the golden calf, nay they ever trampled on the latter. Worldly interests are an encumbrance to the man aspiring to God. Buddha gave up a kingdom for solitude and contemplation. We grant that Yājñavalkya's voracity for riches is objectionable: he is always haunting Janaka's court in order to extort cows and gold from the pious and munificent king. But Yājñavalkya himself realizes, at the end, the hollowness of riches and

withdraws to the forest in order to lead the life of an anchorite. His previous attachment to wealth seems to be devised only in order to set off his final renunciation. Uddālaka Āruṇi refuses the gifts that King Pravāhaṇa offers to him, and what he asks is only to be initiated into the mysteries of the Beyond. We have already seen that Maitreyī spurned the wealth her husband wanted to bequeath to her: she longed for the wealth that discloses the path to immortality. Sanatkumāra tells Nārada in the loftiest manner: "In this world they call greatness cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves and wives, fields and lands; but I do not mean this kind of greatness, I do not mean this kind of greatness (*Chānd. VII, 24, 2*).” Yama offers to Naciketas the full enjoyment of all possible pleasures during a life as long as he shall desire, but Naciketas' answer is that he who has but once looked at death cannot any more find his heart's content in wealth (*na vittena tarpaṇīyo manuṣyaḥ*); he who has got only a glimpse of the Eternal cannot any longer be allured by sensual pleasures; and even the longest life is short in comparison with eternity (*api sarvam jīvitam alpam eva: Kāṭha, I, 23-26*). And Yama cannot help admiring Naciketas' wisdom, for wealth, indeed, is a pool in which men are drowned, and moreover the worst of intoxications; because the wealthy man thinks that there is only one world,—that of his luxuries,—and thinking so he falls a prey to death over and over again.

We have now before us materials enough for an attempt at tracing a historical sketch of the Upanishadic period. Its contempt of riches entitles us to assume that in that period not only was there wealth, but also a feeling of indifference towards it, which shows that people had long been accustomed, generation after generation, to its enjoyment. People who, for the first time, experience what wealth is, have no temptation at all to give it up. Civilization must be quite advanced to allow man to weigh temporal and

spiritual enjoyments against each other, and then to affirm that the latter are weightier. No Ṛgvedic man would ever have felt and behaved like Naciketas. In the Upanishadic period man knew how to enjoy life: mention is often made of rich possessions, of lands and cattle; of coaches, elephants and horses; of splendid dresses, carpets and jewels; of courtesans, music, dancing and phantasmagoric performances, of fame and glory acquired through liberality or knowledge; of princes and courts bestowing the most munificent gifts on learned philosophers and theologians. Many a Brāhmaṇ is called *mahāśāla*, which bears witness to the existence of rich teachers possessed of broad halls (*śālā*), where they imparted their knowledge to the numerous pupils flocking to their lessons. The greatest evidence, however, of the times being conspicuously advanced is to be found in the fact that women like Maitreyī and Gārgī discoursed on theological subjects and shared in the loftiest intellectual and spiritual interests. Schopenhauer calls women 'Philistines' past all cure, that is to say, beings who rarely feel inclined to renounce real, tangible luxuries for the sake of intellectual achievements or of spiritual blessings. Nature itself makes of woman a conservative force. How many temporal advantages man would renounce and lose, if woman were not there to check his idealistic tendencies? Are we, then, not to give paramount importance to Maitreyī's words of contempt for temporal wealth and of indomitable yearning after eternal bliss?

The Upanishadic society seems almost obsessed by the one problem of religion: warriors defeat priests in depth of theological knowledge: prejudice of caste surrenders, as in the case of Satyakāma, before the higher considerations of humanity: the wealthy man bows to the poor one whenever the latter can claim spiritual superiority; the cleverest priests, as for instance Yājñavalkya, set at naught sacrificial practices and ceremonies and withdraw into the forest to live there on

alms and in contemplation ; traditional lore is deemed quite inferior to the inspiration of the man who, through the purity of his life, has become as simple as a child.

'It is clear, therefore, that the Upanishads are the offspring of a spiritual revolution which was started, outside the Brāhmanical circles, by the laymen, of whom the Kshatriyas took the lead and always remained ahead.

II

ĀTMAN IN THE UPANISHADS

The notion of *Ātman* decidedly takes the upper hand and becomes the *Leitmotif* in the Upanishads. This dynamic religious principle, that we pointed out only with difficulty, may aptly be compared with a rivulet, taking its start in the Ṛgveda, swelling in the Atharvaveda, and again shrinking in the Brāhmaṇas, only to assert itself triumphantly in the Upanishads as a majestic and impetuous river which no dam can any longer obstruct or check.

Anyhow, the birthplace of *Ātman* is the Atharvaveda, and the Upanishads are the arena for its glorious feats. What the Upanishads gave birth to is the notion of *Karman*, that, even more than *Ātman*, shows signs of a rational and lay origin.

Let us, to begin with, speak about the *Ātman* in the Upanishads. It sometimes rivals and opposes *Brahman*, sometimes eliminates it through silence, and sometimes lets it live on as its own synonym. There are occasional vindications—but only rare and faint—of *Brahman*.

Ātman clearly challenges *Brahman* in *Chāndogya*, VII, 1, where Nārada, a Brāhman, asks of Sanatkumāra, a warrior, to be initiated into the doctrine of *Ātman*, inasmuch as the knowledge of *Brahman* (*brahmavidyā*) is incapable of rescuing man from misery, while every knower of *Ātman* (*ātmavit*) easily overcomes sorrow. In *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, II, 1, again a

Brāhman, Gārgya, has his *Brahman* defeated by the *Ātman* of a Kshatriya, Ajātaśātru. No one has up to now pointed out that the antagonism between *Brahman* and *Ātman* is clearly marked by the fact that Gārgya never uses the term *Ātman* but is always speaking of *Brahman*, while, on the contrary, the king never uses the terms *Brahman* but is always speaking of *Ātman*. The *Brahman* of Gārgya, moreover, is either in the sun, or in the moon, or in the thunderbolt, or in other external objects; while the *Ātman* of Ajātaśātru can be discovered only in man, even in man sleeping.

In *Chāndogya* (V, 11, 1), some Brāhmins are eager to know who is really the *Ātman* (*ko nu ātmā*), what is really the *Brahman* (*kim brahma*); and, strange enough, instead of having recourse to a Brāhman, they go to king Aśvapati for instruction, and Aśvapati never even mentions *Brahman*, but goes on speaking of *Ātman* alone.

Brahman is eliminated through silence in *Bṛhadāranyaka*, II, 4, 6, where we read that the whole universe is *Ātman* (*idam sarvam yad ayam ātmā*). Likewise in *Aitareya*, I, 1: In the beginning this world was only *Ātman* and nothing else could open and shut the eyes. In *Bṛhadār.* IV, 4, 12, 13: The man who has discovered the *Ātman* and says: 'I am he,' how can he long for the body any more? The man, awakened to the knowledge that *Ātman* abides in the medley called body, at once becomes the Universal Factor (*Viśvakṛt*), for he, indeed, is the creator of everything, and the world belongs to him, nay he is the world.

It is not without reason that we meet here the epithet *Viśvakṛt*: we may recall here what has been said concerning the lay and rational deity Viśvakarman in the Ṛgveda, the Atharvaveda and the Brāhmaṇas. The *Īśa* gives us the example of an Upanishad which never mentions *Brahman*, and seems to know only one universal principle, namely, *Ātman*.

Undoubtedly, *Brahman* and *Ātman* appear on many occasions as two names of the same transcendent being. In *Bṛhadār.*,

for instance, we read in I, 4, 1, that in the beginning this world was only *Ātman*; while in I, 4, 10, 11, it is stated that in the beginning this world was only *Brahman*. That *Ātman* and *Brahman* are here identified is proved by the passage that follows: He who says: *I am Brahman*, becomes the whole world, and the gods themselves cannot prevent him from becoming the world, inasmuch as he becomes their *Ātman*. He who worships a deity different from *Ātman* and thinks that he and *Ātman* are two things, has got no understanding at all and is like a beast belonging to the gods. Cattle are precious to man, and likewise each man who is like cattle is precious to the gods. It is unpleasant to be robbed of a single animal that one owns; still more unpleasant to be robbed of many; therefore the gods do not like at all that men should know what *Ātman* is (*Bṛhadār.*, I, 4, 10).

The author of our Upanishad is here using promiscuously the names *Ātman* and *Brahman*, though, on the whole *Ātman* gains the upper hand, for in I, 4, 15, we read: 'he who worships only the *Ātman* as the world, nothing of what he does is ever lost; and anything he wishes he gets from *Ātman*; and finally in I, 4, 17, the author, as if repenting of having stated in I, 4, 10, that in the beginning this whole world was *Brahman*, says: 'In the beginning this whole world was *Ātman*.' Anyhow, it is clear that the passage is far from being an orthodox one, for in it, men believing in gods are called cattle, and the gods are represented as opposed to the doctrine of *Ātman*, because this latter makes them lose their cattle.

We should, however, be mistaken if we thought that *Ātman* waged war on *Brahman*, past any possibility of reconciliation. On Indian soil wars to the death are unknown, because its amiable eclecticism is not long in reconciling all kinds of opponents. We see, therefore, the *Śvetāśvatara* busy not only with identifying *Brahman* and *Ātman*, but also bringing into line with them the *Puruṣa*. This Upanishad, in fact, states in III, 7, that those who know the *Brahman* become

immortal; in III, 21, that those who know the *Ātman* are for ever emancipated from rebirth; and in III, 8, that those who know the *Puruṣa* overcome death. We western people are shocked by such contradictory statements; for in the name of logic and consistency, do we not fight and are we not ready to die? Indians, however, think that, after all, *Brahman*, *Ātman* and *Puruṣa* are three names, and that it is absurd to come to blows for the sake of the supremacy of any one of them when by considering them as synonymous every conflict may be avoided. Whether we or the Indians are wiser is an open question.

Though by far the greater number of the classical Upanishads show a tendency to give *Ātman* the upper hand, we, nevertheless, sometimes hear voices vindicating the rites of *Brahman*. The *Kena*, for instance, is decidedly in favour of *Brahman* and against *Ātman*. We saw that the two princes Ajātaśatru and Aśvapati never mention *Brahman*, while on the contrary, they speak about *Ātman* as if it were the only basis of the world. From this fact we inferred an implied opposition to *Brahman*, and likewise, it is only fair to assume an opposition to *Ātman* from the fact that, in the *Kena*, the name *Brahman* preponderates. Only once, namely, in II, 4, *Ātman* is mentioned in order to state that through it man finds vigour (*Ātmanā vindate vīryam*), but never immortality, which can be conferred by the science of *Brahman* alone (*vidyayā vindate 'mṛtam*). The orthodox Brahmanical character of the *Kena* is also brought out by the words we read in the conclusion (32-34), namely, that the Upanishadic lore is the doctrine of *Brahman* and its basis consists of asceticism (*tapas*), of self-control (*dama*), and of sacrificial practices (*karma*).

Between *Brahman* and *Ātman* there is a substantial difference according to the Upanishads, and we have to consider now what this much-spoken-of *Ātman* is, from the Upanishadic point of view. 'The whole world,' says the

Bṛhadāranyaka, 'is nothing else but food and food-eaters' (I, 4, 6), and the *Taittirīya* (II, 2) adds: 'Living beings consist of food, they derive their life from food and they become food at the end. If life is dependent on food, there needs must be a substantial congeniality between the eater and the food he eats. No life is possible without food; food, therefore, may almost be identified with life. No wonder, then, if food (*anna*) is considered as something sacred, nay, as symbol of *Brahman*.'

Goethe says :

Ich habe niemals danach gefragt
Von welchen Schnepfen und Fasanen,
Kapaunen und Welschenhahnen
Ich mein Bauchelchen gemastet.

'I never cared to know with what woodcocks and pheasants, what capons and turkeys, I fattened my little stomach.'

We western people are all, like Goethe, supremely unconcerned in our philosophy with the food we swallow and which has to keep us alive. Provided it has got a good taste and does not hurt us, we do not think any more of it. Bread, meat, vegetables, fruits, are matter, and as such they do not deserve the least of our thoughts. Between spirit and matter there is a chasm, and we do not succeed in detecting any intimate and congenial relation between our thoughts and the bread we have digested.

On the contrary, an Upanishadic seer makes the following remark that may seem a truism at the outset, but nevertheless contains a deep practical meaning: 'If for only ten days we abstain from taking any food, we still live, but we are no more able to see, hear, think, understand, act, discriminate. All these faculties come back again as soon as we give fresh nourishment to our body.' (*Chānd.*, VII, 9.)

'It is, then, clear that the psychological functions are

dependent on food, and what we call matter is not the dead thing we are accustomed to imagine, inasmuch as it hides in itself mysterious energetic principles giving birth to the most exquisite manifestations of the soul. Is it ever possible to detect the boundary between matter and spirit? Matter, moreover, can pass through different stages and is quite susceptible of being refined: one can churn milk into butter. A similar process is likely to take place with respect to the food that is assimilated by our body. A part of it proves rebellious to every elaboration and refinement and is, therefore, expelled in the form of excrement; another part, which may conveniently be styled the middle one, is converted into flesh; while the choicest part becomes thought. The water, likewise, that we drink, functions in three parts and becomes respectively urine to be eliminated, blood, and breath. The warmth that we gather from outside becomes bone in its gross part, marrow in its middle, and language in its finest part. All this can be proved by an experiment. Let us compare man with a fire kept alive by sixteen firebrands. Each firebrand represents the food he wants every day. If during sixteen days he completely abstains from taking food and water, death ensues. If fasting, however, lasts, instead of sixteen, fifteen days and man drinks, he will live on, namely, he will go on merely breathing without any possibility of remembering things. Śvetaketu, Uddālaka's son, underwent this experiment. For a period of fifteen days he ate absolutely nothing and only drank water. At the end of the fifteenth day his father bade him recite some well-known Vedic stanzas, but he had forgotten them altogether. He, then, discontinued his fast and after the fifteenth day of renewed feeding, he could remember and recite those Vedic stanzas. Breathing, then, had not stopped owing to the water he had drunk, but memory and thinking power had utterly disappeared on account of the absence of food' (*Chānd.*, VI, 7).

Professor Jacobi thinks that all this is sheer materialism (*Entwicklung der Gottesidee*, page 12). But have we not here an attempt at bringing spirit into matter, much more than any tendency to identify matter and spirit? For myself I fail to detect any trace of materialism in this Upanishadic theory: nay, I see matter losing its dead character and becoming the living abode of God. Food, water and heat are the manifestation of God, of that pantheistic deity who, to repeat the same words of the Śvetāśvatara, II, 17, abides in the fire and in the waters in the whole universe, in the herbs and in the trees (*yo devo' gnāu yo' psu yo viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa, ya oṣadhiṣu yo vanaspatiṣu tasmāi devāya namo namaḥ*).

India had also her materialists, but they speak in quite a different language. Mādhavācārya tells us that the Cārvākas believe only in the existence of matter, and object to admit any such thing as the soul. They maintain that there are only four elements: earth, water, fire and air, out of the combination of which the soul springs up, just as from the combination of fermenting substances an intoxicating power is produced.

It is clear that this intoxicating power of the materialists is something merely casual, that comes into birth and vanishes again without any character of lasting reality. How utterly different from this intoxicating power is that thought (*manas*) which originates from the essence of food (*anna*), the God that abides in the fire and in the waters, in the whole Universe, in the herbs and in the trees. The thought produced by the essence of food, the breath produced by the essence of water, the words produced by the essence of heat have got in themselves nothing that is casual; they are, on the contrary, an everlasting reality emancipated from birth as well as from death, hidden in everything that has a name and a form just as a razor is hidden in its case, fire is hidden in wood, and salt hidden in the water wherein it has been melted. This everlasting reality manifests itself in manifold

forms, from the lowest progressively to the highest. It manifests itself under the form of food, of breath, of thought, of discrimination, of bliss (*ānanda*). We are essentially what our thought makes of us; we become in this life and after death what we long for. Accordingly, if our supreme wish is food, we shall have food; if it is breath we shall live as long as we desire; if it is bliss, we shall have bliss. His destiny is in man's own hands; let him think of, let him aspire to, low or high things, and he will not be long in identifying himself with them. The choice that is given him ranges between food (*anna*) and bliss (*ānanda*) (*Taittiriya*, II, 2).

Is it possible to detect any trace of materialism in this doctrine?

The everlasting reality that manifests itself from its highest form of bliss (*Ānanda*) down to its lowest form of food (*anna*), is what the Upanishads call *ātman*. It is essentially a unity, though man sees it always split up into parts in the empirical world. Inasmuch as it breathes, we call it Breath; inasmuch as it speaks, we call it Word; inasmuch as it understands, we call it Mind, and so on. But all these are only functions of the *Ātman*, which is a unity and the basic principle of all functions.

Menenius Agrippa's apologue of the organs of the body vying with each other for supremacy, is a poor counterfeit of the famous deep Upanishadic fable intended to show the supremacy of *Ātman* as the prop of all physiological and psychological functions in our body. A fable that aims at evidencing God's presence in the world, has in Europe been converted into a political means of keeping the different social classes in harmony. While India was thinking of God, there in Rome they were thinking of Man. The religious spirit of India and the practical sense of the West are once brought clearly into contrast by the different use of the one and same appologue.

The Upanishadic fable met with in *Bṛhadār.* VI, 1, 7-14, in *Chānd.*, V, 1, 6-15, 2, 1, in *Praśna*, II, 1-4, and in *Kauṣītaki*, II, 14, shows that it is not the eye that sees, the ear that hears, the tongue that speaks, and so on, but an underlying something that causes the eye to see, the ear to hear, the tongue to speak, and so on. This something is the one real prop of all physiological and psychological functions, and if it departs from the body, there is an end to life. Without eyes man can live, without ears man can live, without tongue man can live ;—and, in fact, there are blind, deaf and dumb men ; but without the *Ātman* nobody can live, for the *Ātman* is the real basis of all functions.

Another proof of the existence of *ātman* is to be found in the fact that it never experiences weariness : the tongue gets tired by dint of tasting, the mind gets tired by dint of thinking, but the *Ātman*, even in its manifestation of breathing, which is far from being its highest manifestation, never knows what weariness is. Everything in us takes rest while we sleep, except breath, the *Ātman*, the eternal watcher. Everything that needs sleep, shall one day die ; but who has ever seen breathing sleep ? The *Ātman* never sleeps, and, therefore it cannot die. Is it ever possible to conceive the death of the *Ātman*, of the soul ? Cut a tree at its root : drops of lymph will flow out, because it lives. Cut it in the middle of its trunk, or at its top : drops of lymph will flow out because it lives. Being saturated with *Ātman* the tree proudly spreads its boughs. But in life, the *Ātman*, abandons a branch, this branch withers and dies ; if it abandons a second and a third branch, they also die ; if it abandons the whole tree, the whole tree withers and dies. Likewise, this our body dies when life deserts it, but it is not life that dies. A life that dies is an inconsistency, a flat contradiction, a logical impossibility.

All our different vital energies melt into a unity which allows us to be conscious of the things of the external world.

Prāṇa or *Ātman* is the conscious principle, and through it we can see, hear, smell, taste and so on. If only consciousness is absent, the eye mechanically looks at an object but practically does not see it. We, therefore say: 'my mind was absent and I did not perceive that object.' The same thing happens with respect to the nose, the tongue, the ear, and any other organ. Behind the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, there is, consequently, something that is the real subject of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and this something is nothing but the immortal *Ātman*.

Accordingly, the world is an emanation of *Ātman*. As the spider emits and draws in its cobweb, as herbs spring up from the soil and return to it, as sparks by thousands come forth from a fire and fall into that same fire, just so the manifold beings come out of the immortal *Ātman* and go back into it (*Muṇḍaka*, I, 1, 7; II, 1, 1; *Kauṣītaki*, III, 2, *Bṛhadār.*, II, 1, 20).

When we are fast asleep, the *Ātman* draws back into itself all that it sent forth while we were awake. The capital proof of the existence of *Ātman*, and of its spreading and shrinking, lies in its passing from the watching to the dreaming state, and from this latter into the condition of sound sleep.

King Ajātaśatru leads Gārgya near a sleeping man, and says:

When one sleeps as this man does, the conscious soul takes from the organs the power of perception that it had lent to them, and chooses the heart as its abode. It roams, during the dream, here and there through its domains, like an almighty emperor, or a great *Brāhman*, drawing behind itself the manifold vital spirits as if they were its retinue. But when sound sleep ensues, then the soul, entering the seventy-two thousand veins that spread from the heart to the pericardium, goes to rest therein and enjoys such bliss as can be experienced by a young prince, or an emperor, or a great *Brāhman* (*Bṛhadār.*, II, 1, 15-19).

King Janaka asks Yājñavalkya (*Bṛh.*, IV, 3): 'What gives man light?' 'The sun,' the sage answers, 'for in the light of the sun, man despatches all his business.' 'But, when the sun has set, what gives man light?' 'The moon, for in the light of the moon man despatches all his business.' 'But, when neither sun nor moon are there, what is it that gives man light?' 'Fire, for in the light of fire man despatches all his business.' 'But, when both sun and moon are absent, and the fire has been put out, what is it that gives man light?' 'The voice, for though one is in the darkness, hearing a voice, one can go to the spot whence it come forth.' 'But, when both sun and moon are absent, fire has been put out, and no voice is to be heard, what is it that gives man light?' 'His *self*, for when one dreams one gives one-self light.' There are, then, no coaches, no two-wheelers, no roads, but coaches, two-wheelers, roads are all created by the self; there are, then no pleasures, no joys, no delights, but all pleasures, joys and delights are created by the self; there are, then, no wells, no ponds, no rills, but wells, ponds, rills are created by the self; because the self is the Creator. Emancipated from the body He looks at the sleeping organs, until He himself goes to rest. As an eagle, after long flying, comes back to its nest and folds its wings, just so the self, the soul, the *Ātman*, goes back to His own abode, namely, He withdraws into Himself. Dream at once ceases; sound sleep follows, a state of bliss, that cannot be better compared than with the rapture man experiences when he is embraced by a beloved woman. One is no more conscious of what is going on in the exterior as well as in the interior world; one is outside good as well as evil; one reaches a perfect ecstasy. Nothing is any more seen, heard, tasted, thought, though the power of seeing, hearing, tasting, thinking is still there. The soul has become one with all exterior objects; consciousness has disappeared, but its disappearance does not imply, in the least, death of the power

of perception: nay, it implies an ineffable bliss. All powers of perception are dormant, only potentially living, while the soul, withdrawn into itself, has reached its supreme refuge, its supreme bliss.

We can, therefore, follow life in its gradual manifestations of food (*annarasamaya*), of breath (*prāṇamaya*), of thought (*manomaya*), of discrimination (*vijñānamaya*), of bliss (*ānandamaya*). We become the thing which we intensely wish; and he who aspires to the bliss he has experienced in sound sleep, will reach this bliss after his death (*Taittirīya*, II, 2).

Loss of consciousness is not an evil; it is bliss; for as long as consciousness is there, there is on one side a knower and on the other a perceivable object; that is to say, the soul is troubled by something exterior; there is a duality, and real bliss becomes impossible,—the bliss that is experienced the moment we attain unity, the moment the knower becomes one with all perceivable things. To state that after death there is no more consciousness, does not at all mean that there is no soul, but, rather that we pass into a condition where the soul becomes one with all objects, and emancipates itself from every material bond which constrains it to perceive things different from its immortal self; to perceive, namely, this transitory world of illusory joys and illusory sorrows.

To conceive a form of life that is outside our usual consciousness importing the notions of *mine* and *thine*, *to-day* and *to-morrow*, *joy* and *affliction*, is hardly possible to the generality of men, though they are ready to grant that sound sleep and, still more, the raptures of love, which annihilate consciousness altogether, are states of perfect and ineffable bliss. A true sage sees, on the contrary, the highest form of life in the loss of consciousness, for he well knows that true reality cannot and does not keep anything in common with the ephemeral world that never *is*, but eternally *becomes*,

shattering pitilessly our fondest illusions. When Yājñavalkya says to his wife: 'After death there is no consciousness' (*na pretya samīñāsti*, *Bṛh.* II, 4, 12; IV, 5, 13), he is quite aware of uttering a sentence that is likely to terrify the generality of people accustomed to long for a continuation of this life after death. Maitreyī, in fact, is frightened, and says: 'By this sentence, namely, that after death there is no more consciousness, you have perplexed me.' Maitreyī here represents the generality of people dreaming of a heaven that is nothing but earth.

Professor Jacobi (*op. cit.*, pages 8-10, 14, 15) maintains that, in the oldest Upanishads, spirit and matter are not yet distinctly discriminated and that the notion of an individual soul exempt from decay and death is altogether unknown. But why is, then, Maitreyī shocked to hear from her husband: 'After death there is no more consciousness?' Is it not because she believes that after death her individual soul will survive? And does not her belief represent that of the generality of her contemporaries? Far from being unable sharply to discriminate spirit from matter, Yājñavalkya has got over the notion of the individual soul surviving the death of the body, and yet perpetuating consciousness, and has conceived, instead, a stage of the life of the soul much loftier than consciousness itself, and wholly emancipated from the duality as knowing subject. Rather than with unevolved thoughts, we are here confronted with a wonderful maturity of speculation.

Ātman is, therefore, according to the Upanishads, the vital force permeating the Universe and manifesting itself in more or less lofty forms. As such, *Ātman* is a scientific truth that observation and experiment succeed in detecting and evidencing. Let us not forget that Śvetaketu fasted fifteen days in order to prove that thought is dependent on food, and breathing on water. The different manifestations of life in the waking state, in dream, and in sound sleep;

the gradual withdrawal of *Ātman* in the successive loss by the dying man of the power of speaking, of consciousness, of breath, and at least of warmth; these and other items that are met with in the Upanishads are nothing but physiological and psychological observations. The axiom that the knowing subject cannot absolutely become the known object at the same time—namely, that it cannot know itself—shows that the Upanishadic seers were far-advanced in Logic. Now, all this has absolutely nothing to do with religion; it is mere science, or, at least, a mere attempt at science. No scientific truth has ever had or will ever have the power of bestowing on men the spiritual comforts that religion only is apt to confer. Rabindranath Tagore crushingly told me one day: ‘Do you ever conceive that a man, needing comfort, will seek for it and find it in the law of gravitation?’ The helplessness of science as a substitute for religion cannot be more effectively expressed. A personal God that listens to our prayers and gives us support through His mysterious presence, will ever be preferred to any impersonal law that can appeal to our reason, but never to our heart. Without personality, there is an end to loving and being loved.

If, accordingly, *Ātman* is a scientific truth, can it give birth to a religion? The answer ought seemingly to be in the negative. A perusal of the texts, however, leads us to a different conclusion.

‘When,’ says the *Chāndogya* (VII, 23), ‘we see, hear and know nothing else besides ourselves, then do we experience boundlessness; whenever we see, hear and know anything different from ourselves, we experience limitation. Boundlessness is immortal, limitation is mortal. Likewise, boundlessness is bliss, for there is no joy in littleness. But, lo, *Ātman* is above and underneath, on the left and on the right; *Ātman* is the universe. Who sees, thinks of, and knows the *Ātman* thus, and enjoys it, plays with it, makes love to it, and feels blessed in it, he is the free man, he roams

through the worlds according to his wish ; all those, on the contrary, who think otherwise, are the slaves of others, their delights are transitory, the worlds are shut to their wandering unrestrainedly through them.' And we read in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* III, 8, 10, 81 : ' He who leaves this world without knowing the imperishable *Ātman* is but a wretch, for *Ātman* is the seer unseen, the hearer unheard, the thinker not thought of ; besides him there exists no other seer, hearer, thinker ; for the imperishable *Ātman* is the woof and warp of the universe.'

To every attempt at defining what *Ātman* is, one must reply by some negative (*neti neti* : *Bṛh.* III, 9, 26), because He is ineffable ; He cannot be grasped with the hand ; He is not susceptible of decay ; nothing can stick to Him, nor make Him stagger, nor hurt him.

It would be easy to pile up a large number of similar quotations showing that the seers of the Upanishads speak of *Ātman* in a language which, far from being that of the scientist or the philosopher, is that of the prophet inflamed by a mystical enthusiasm. Science here becomes religion. In the West we are accustomed to see science and religion, matter and spirit, irreconcilably divorced, so that we are puzzled by the promiscuousness with which both science and religion are treated of in the Upanishads, and we ask ourselves again : Do the Upanishads really embody a religion, or are they mere philosophic speculations ?

III

THE DOCTRINE OF KARMAN.

Observation, experiment and logic prove that a force, always substantially the same, permeates the universe, and gives birth to lightning in the atmosphere as well as to thought in man's brain. Everything that exists in this great world contains a particle of God, and as such it is sacred, it must be loved. This force, called Ātman, is of the nature of a scientific and philosophical principle as long as our knowledge of it is based on observation, experiment and logic. It becomes a religious principle the moment we directly as it were experience or realize it, through concentration, introspection, *yoga*. "The Ātman cannot be grasped," says the Kathaka (VI, 12), "through words, or thought or eye : He belongs only to him who, (gaining clearsightedness) exclaims : *there is He*" (*nāiva vīcā na manasā prāptum śakyo na cakṣuṣhā ; astīti bruvato anyatra katham tad upalabhyate*).

There is, then, a knowledge of *Ātman* which is not given by our common intellectual powers but by transcendent faculties that are dormant in us and which can be brought into activity by a very special training in meditation.

What Indian seers can achieve through introspection is a mystery to western people, and it is owing to this fact that in the West one can hardly put faith in, or account for, the religious bliss which the recognition of Ātman is said to bestow on man.

Another hindrance to the right understanding of the *Ātman* doctrine that we, the people of the West, find is due to the way in which we are accustomed to consider the things of Nature. Having sharply discriminated spirit from matter,

we not only are unable to detect anything of the spiritual in earth, water, gas or fire but we even object to the assumption that plants and beasts have got a soul. Our scientists in their laboratories study their materials from an absolutely mechanical point of view. There can be nothing more materialistic than western science, inasmuch as it never suspects that something divine may be hidden in the thing that it weighs, experiments, analyzes ; it never dares boldly enter the labyrinth of the numberless, mysterious transformations of matter. We hear about the persistence of force, we are told that nothing is ever lost in Nature ; still science never cares to know where the energy has gone that kept a fire alive, and has disappeared as soon as the fuel failed ; or to find out the transformations undergone by the material elements of a corpse burnt by fire or decayed under the soil. The gulf between spirit and matter prevents us from loving the things of Nature. A mountain is for us a sheer heap of rocks and clods ; a river but a course of water that draws our attention only for its being likely to benefit our agriculture or our commerce. I grant that many a western poet sings the glory of sunrises and sunsets, of mountains and rivers, of green grass and flowers ; still we do not take our poets seriously, we never think that their poetry is religion,—the only true religion. Nature is nothing for us but a field to be exploited : Rather than love, man has to dominate Nature. The wider, meanwhile, the chasm becomes between us and Nature, the more we feel ourselves to be different from earth, water, fire, air, the more does the terror of death increase ; for, as we have concluded, our body is made out of material elements and we become after death a handful of ashes or of dust. Through the terror of death we atone for our sin of not loving that same earth into which we shall melt, or that same fire wherein we are to be reduced to ashes.

With such an attitude towards the material things of Nature, it is not strange that we fail to grasp the bliss

experienced by the Upanishadic seer in becoming one with the universe. Indians long for wholeness, for unity. Perfection, bliss, cannot be found outside unity. Let the very evil that is in the world be ascribed also to God, provided God be conceived as a unity. And God being the universe, there can be nothing that is not sacred, that cannot claim our love. We in the West speak of the love of the Indians for beasts and plants, but we do not realize that their love extends further, much further. I have already pointed out the deep sense of veneration that is met with in the Upanishads for food (*anna*). Who in the West ever felt any respect or love for the mouthful he lifted to his lips?

In Chānd. VIII, 12, 2, the Upanishadic seer eulogises the privilege possessed by the wind, clouds, lightning and thunder, in their being incorporeal. Who in the West ever sighed to become like the wind, the cloud, the lightning or the thunder?

What we consider as whimsical or rhetorical flourishes of poets are the deepest religious feelings of many an Indian. Indians have a real love for Nature; they believe, past any doubt, that Nature is as living as they, thinks and meditates just as they do; above all, nothing that is in Nature can rouse in them the least sense of aversion, or of loathing; to become one with Nature is their supreme goal, the true Paradise.

And in order to support this assertion by texts, let me quote the following characteristic passages: "This world was in the beginning non-entity which was entity. As soon as this latter was born it became an egg which lay during a year and then opened. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold. The silver shell was this earth, the gold one the sky; the exterior film the mountains, the interior one the clouds and the mist; the veins were the rivers, and the watery part of the egg the ocean. Out of the egg the sun came forth and while it was rising, cries of amazement,

joyful sounds, all creatures and all desires, arose ; therefore, at sunrise, at every coming back of the sun, cries of amazement, joyful sounds, all creatures and all desires arise." (Chānd. III, 19.)

"The earth, as it were, meditates, the air, as it were, meditates ; it seems as if the sky, the waters, the mountains, gods and men meditate." (Chānd. VII, 6, 1.)

"When bees make honey, they transform the saps of manifold plants into a unique juice. As these saps, melted into one juice, cannot any more know from which plant they are derived, even so do all these creatures, reaching the supreme Being, lose the consciousness of what they individually were..... This is the subtile essence of which the universe consists, this is the reality, this is the soul, this thou art (*tat tvam asi*)." (Chānd. VI, 9, 1, 2, 4.)

We should be wrong in assuming that this veneration for Nature, this longing for unity with the soul of the world, represent the feelings of the saints and the philosophers only. The bulk of the people in India live with their surrounding Nature ; and hardly three months have elapsed since Rabindranath Tagore read his enlightening paper on the philosophy of Indian people in this same University of Calcutta, in order to show the astonishing fact of the Indian folk living and experiencing what philosophers only speak of.

Ātman is immanent, but it becomes transcendent and can be worshipped and loved like a personal God, as soon as it is felt and realized in its wholeness and its unity. Like a personal God, *Ātman* is ineffable and is susceptible of only a negative definition : *neti, neti*. Like a personal God *Ātman* fills the heart of the worshipper with bliss and rapture. The Upanishadic seer in uttering the formulas *tat tvam asi* and *aham evadam sarvo'smi*," soars to an ecstatic vision. Though *Ātman* permeates all things, it abides, above all, in our heart : "The space here in our heart," says the Chāndogya

(VIII, 1, 3, 5), "is as wide as the cosmic space, all heaven and earth, fire and wind, sun and moon, lightnings and stars, what we have as well as what we yet have not, are contained therein;.....neither old age, nor death, nor affliction, nor hunger, nor thirst, can find place therein"; "all our dear ones, the living as well as the dead, all our baffled aspirations are here in our heart;.....and, lo, like a man who, ignoring where the treasure is hidden, does not find it though he constantly passes over it, even so these creatures do not find the Brahman-world though they daily enter into it.....; yes, in our heart *Ātman* resides, the bridge one has to pass over, that all blind men may see, all wounded and sick men may be healed; and the heart inside us cannot but be inside us, else dogs would snatch and devour it and crows would swallow it." (Chānd. VIII, 3, 2; 4, 2; Brh. III, 9, 25.)

To detect *Ātman* in our heart means to detect God in us, and to detect God in us means to become God. The Chāndogya (III, 14, 3, 4) says: "*Ātman*, which dwells in my heart, is smaller than a grain of rice, or of barley, or of mustard, or of panicum, or of a seed of a seed of panicum; *Ātman* in my heart is bigger than earth, sky, heaven, bigger than all worlds; *Ātman* in my heart performs all undertakings, wishes all wishes, smells, tastes all tastes, encompasses all things, in silence, in detachment; it is *Brahman*, and with it I shall identify myself after death." The doctrine of *Ātman* reveals to man that he is God.

Can a more blessed conclusion be conceived? If such is the goal, it is only too natural that man should feel quite beset by a longing to attain to it, and also that another religious element should accompany the *Ātman*-doctrine, namely, the renunciation of all wordly interests. We are wont to say of a man wholly given to science: "Science is his religion." The world religion implies the total and radical offering of all our thoughts, words and actions to a Supreme Being in which

we find the ultimate and only reason of our very existence. And what is there in the world that a man will not be ready to renounce in order to attain to that *Ātman* which according to him, is the All-One, the utmost bliss, the repository of our dear ones, living as well as dead? *Ātman* is dearer than a son, dearer than wealth, dearer than everything else in the world.

Yājñavalkya says to Maitreyī that the husband is dear not for the sake of the husband but for the sake of *Ātman*, the wife is dear not for the sake of the wife but for the sake of *Ātman*, sons are dear not for their sake but for the sake of *Ātman*, and so on (Brh. II, 4, 5-6; IV, 5, 6-7). What do these words mean? Evidently and undoubtedly that our love for perishable things must gradually lead us to the love of the Imperishable. A man who loves his wife as simply his wife and does not love her in God, is likely to lose her, for death may snatch her from him. You are dear to me, Yājñavalkya says to Maitreyī, and it is because you are dear to me and I do not want to lose you, that I say farewell to the illusions of this world and am going to the woods to live on alms and in the contemplation of the *Ātman* in which I shall be securely possessed of you and of every thing else that is dear to me, for *Ātman* is the reality of reality (*satyasya satyam*) and the repository of all our dear ones, living as well as dead (*atha ye cāsyeha jīvā ye ca pretā yac cānyad icchan na labhate sarvaṃ tad atra gatvā vindate*. Chānd. VIII, 3, 2). Earthly love must give way to heavenly love and through *māyā* we have to get at reality.

To a more sublime thought no religion has given utterance, and it is a matter of deep regret that so distinguished a scholar as Oldenberg should find in Yājñavalkya's words the religion of selfishness, inasmuch as according to the German scholar, the translation should be "the husband is dear not for the husband's sake but for the sake of ourselves; the wife is dear not for the wife's sake but for the sake of

ourselves; children are dear not for children's sake but for the sake of ourselves; and so on." We have here an instance of how mere philological skill may lead men astray if divorced from a true philosophical spirit and, above all, from a love for one's own subject.

The eminently religious character of *Ātman* is, so far as I can see, beyond all question. *Ātman* starts as a scientific and philosophical principle, and evolves into a deeply religious, and mystical conception. It has its roots in science and gradually rises to the ethereal sphere of transcendent and divine things. The fascination it is bound to exercise on Western minds and hearts is due to this very fact of blending together science and religion. We in the West have to forget the science we have learned, the moment we collect our spirit in order to edify ourselves by religious meditation; and we have to forget our religion the moment we come back to scientific researches and considerations. Ah, could we but borrow the wings of the Upanishadic seers and at the same time employ our wonderful scientific knowledge! This would mean a blending of the civilization of the East with that of the West. Is not this a gift that the future generations should claim?

In *Ostwestlichen Diwan* Goethe makes us acquainted with this most eloquent motto: *Gottes ist der Orient: Gottes ist der Occident* (*The East belongs to God: the West belongs to God*). East and West have one and the same father: God. Let them behave, therefore, towards each other like two brothers.

I have already hinted that the notion of *Ātman* had its birth in the Atharvaveda and cannot be considered as a new discovery of the seers of the Upanishads. The distinctive conquest of the latter is the notion of *karman*. The notion of *karman* is a logical consequence of that of *Ātman*. *Ātman* means an everlasting force, an eternal substance that can be susceptible neither of decrease nor increase, but only

of transformation. In its transformation it has no boundaries; it can roam about uncontrolled from the highest sphere to the depth of the abyss.

The living being eats the dead one, and is eaten in its turn, when it dies, by the living, whereupon it revives and again feeds on the dead. Life and death support each other and alternately exchange their place. Births and deaths alternate for ever without pause, while *Ātman* alone, never changing, amuses itself at the changes going on outside. *Everything that has birth, dies.* This is only the half of an axiom, and only a blockhead should find any difficulty in completing it with the other half: *everything that dies has birth.* Do we not see spring die and come back again? Do not the herbs, flowers and fruits we saw die, come back again? And if it is inconceivable that even a small grain can be added to the totality of existing matter, what can the new herbs, flowers and fruits be if they are not the dead ones revived under new forms? And should this coming back to life, of everything that dies, hold good for everything except of man? Should man be the only exception to the universal rule of rebirth?

“Look at those that are behind thee, look at those that are ahead: mortals ripen like corn and like corn they again are born.” (*Anupaśya yathā pūrve pratipaśya tathā pare, sasyam iva martyaḥ pacyate sasyam iva jāyate punaḥ*: Kathaka—I, 6.)

Here also, it is intuition that is needed. The scientific reasoning may be of some help at the outset, but leaves you on the way, and then intuition alone has to be your guide and imagination must be given free scope. The truth you will thus get at will not be a scientific one, but an anticipation, a presentiment of a scientific truth.

I have tried to prove that side by side with the hieratic notion of *Brahman*, the lay and rational notion of *Ātman* asserted itself through thinkers belonging to the Kshatriya caste. This demonstration has not always been easy and has

often obliged me to resort to conjectures, but the very texts now authorize me to maintain unhesitatingly that, so far the notion of *karman* is concerned, its origin is to be sought in the Kshatriya circles.

We have only to remind ourselves of the words that King Pravāhana addresses to Uddālaka: "Before thee, in the years of yore, never did this doctrine (of the progress of the soul) reach the ears of any Brahman; and, therefore, the rod of authority has ever been in the hands of the Kshatriyas in all worlds." (Chānd. V, 3, 7.)

There is a parallel passage in Brh. (VI, 2, 8) which runs: "May it be as sure that you and your forefathers will never offend me as it is sure that this doctrine (of the progress of the soul) never resided in any Brahman before this hour."

We have, then, clearly to deal with speculations which take their birth outside the pale of Brahmanical orthodoxy and tradition.

When Śvetaketu goes to King Pravāhana, he is puzzled by the five questions the royal sage puts to him: "Where do creatures go after death? How do they come back to this earth? Which is the path of the gods, which is the path of the fathers? How is it that the world of the beyond is never filled? How can it happen that at the fifth offering, water speaks?" The doctrine of rebirth is based, as we have suggested, on the principle that matter is indestructible and that the possibilities of its transformation and progress are boundless. Matter may roam through air, moon, sun, stars; and distance is no obstacle to it. Imagination, accordingly, may see the vital germ, surviving the death of man's body, roam through the universe. A heaven and a hell that should contain all the dead, cannot exist; for the dead are a crushing quantity that could fill even universal space, let alone the limited space reserved for heaven or hell. New individuals cannot, therefore, be borne on the earth as an addition to the number of those already existing from eternity. The newborn

beings of to-day are simply the dead of yesterday. The world is never filled either with living beings or with dead beings, because these are not two different things, but only two manifestations of the same entity alternately passing from birth to death, and from death again to birth.

On this quite rational assumption the Indian winged imagination builds the theory of the five fires (*pañcāgnividya*) and that of the two paths (*devayāna* and *pitṛyāna*). In these two theories we see the unbridled imagination of the seer following the soul of the dead in its progress whether through the flame or the smoke of the fire, whether through daylight or the darkness of night, through the wind, the ether, the moon.

But in the same Upanishadic period more balanced minds gave a more rational form to the theory of *samsāra*. We have to keep in view especially the two passages, Brh. IV. 4, 2-7, and Brh. III. 2, 13.

In the former we read: When man dies, the apex of his heart sparkles, and the soul goes out through the eye, of the skull, or some other part of the body. Then, the works he performed during his life-time and his mental and sentimental tendencies take him by the hand. As a caterpillar, having reached the border of a leaf, seizes the border of another leaf and transfers itself thereto, even so the soul abandons the old body and passes into a new one. As a sculptor takes from a brass statue the brass, and models thereout a new and finer statue, even so the soul builds for itself a new and finer body. He who performed good actions is reborn as a good man, he who courted evil is reborn as a wicked man. As our wish so our will, as our will so our action, as our action so our destiny. He who has freed his soul from every wish is never again reborn, and his body lies on the earth like the skin of a dead snake on an ant-hill.

Here, the soul of the dead transmigrates from the old body into the new one under the control of *karman*, which has lost its meaning of *sacrificial practice* and signifies *action*,

deed, in the moral sense of the word. *Karman* is fate, namely, the energy that determines the rebirth, the reincarnation. He only succeeds in emancipating himself from *karman* who has rooted out of his heart every desire.

In the second passage Artabhāga asks Yājñavalkya : "When man dies and his word goes back into fire, his breath into wind, his eye into the sun, his *manas* into the moon, his ear into the points of the compass, his body into earth, his personality (*ātman*) into space, his hair into grass and trees, his blood and seed into water ; what is, then, left of man ? "

And here is Yājñavalkya's most suggestive answer : "My dear Artabhāga, give me your hand ; we have to agree on this point when we are alone, but never here, in this assembly." They, in fact, went out and began to converse, and what they spoke about was *karman*, and what they extolled was *karman* ; and indeed one is reborn as a good creature through pure *karman*, as a wicked creature through wicked *karman*. Here we have the most daring utterance of the Upanishads ; therefore Yājñavalkya does not want to speak it out in public, but in secret : he is quite conscious of trampling on tradition and of anticipating future progress.

Let us analyse a little more closely the passage just quoted.

After death, the ego, the personality, namely, the *Ātman* of the individual, vanishes, inasmuch as it goes back into cosmic space. What survive are only the effects of the good and bad actions man performed in his lifetime and which are to determine his new birth. *Ātman* sets and *karman* rises on the horizon. But it is not permissible to speak in public of *karman*, of this new lay and rational principle devised by the Kshatriyas, because it has got the character of a heresy, and those who believe in it have to conceal their belief, or at least, be cautious in expressing it. *Śraddhā*, that is to say, faith, is the vital element that is left after man's death, according to the Chāndogya, and according to King Pravāhana (V, 2, 4). This, of course, is a notion belonging to the traditional point

of view, and devised by Brahmans eager to give *Śraddhā* the greatest weight. King Pravāhana, in adopting the notion of *Śraddhā* wishes to show that he is not altogether divorced from the hieratic world of ideas. But in the dialogue between Yājñavalkya and Artabhāga, there is no room for *Śraddhā*, and in lieu of it we find *karman*. And he who introduces this revolutionary substitution, is Yājñavalkya, namely, a Brahman. None knows better than he, the heretical purport of the work *karman*: therefore, he wants to speak about it and to extol it secretly, in the presence of Artabhāga alone. Yājñavalkya, in his heart of hearts, is a heretic; he has joined the spiritual Kshatriya reform, but, as he is quite aware of his Brahmanical duties, he shrinks from avowing his new ideas in public. The Atharvaveda, as I tried to show, closes with the word *Ātman*, uttering it, however, cautiously and in a low tone. The Upanishads close with the word *karman*, uttering it, likewise, cautiously and in a low tone. We can easily surmise what Artabhāga and Yājñavalkya said about and in praise of *karman*: anticipating the future they spoke just as if they had been two Buddhists.

Through the new notion of *karman* the way is opened to the speculations that go under the name of Sāṅkhya and Yoga and which are the immediate forerunners of Buddhism; but the new great spiritual conquests almost all belong to the Upanishads. The gods, as well as a transcendent personal God, have been cleared away by the Upanishadic seers long before Buddha hurled them down from their heavenly thrones. In lieu of these the Upanishadic seers worship *Ātman*, the ego, the sole and supreme divine principle in the whole range of Nature. Buddha, though he maintains that an ego is not, but only *becomes*, still considers it as the central point of his religion.

The Upanishadic seers object to sacrificial practices and offerings and are loud in preaching that our actions are the seeds of our destiny and that emancipation from desire can only

lead man to supreme bliss. Buddha had only to elaborate the notion of *karman*, but his *nirvāṇa* is attained by quite the same methods as those employed by the Upanishadic seer, in order to identify himself with *Ātman*.

The Upanishadic seers renounce all worldly interests and attachments, and quite realize that this life, being transient and illusory, is nothing but sorrow and deception. It was only left to Buddha to logically formulate the truth of the misery of existence and point out the path leading to emancipation therefrom.

Among the seers of the Upanishads, Kshatriyas take the lead with their new lay and dynamical principles. Buddha is a Kshatriya, and his reform is essentially a lay and dynamic one.

Buddhism allows man the greatest possible broadness and freedom of conception, which, however, can hardly be called superior to the broadness of view and freedom of thought that are met with in the Upanishads. Like all disciples, Buddha was a little ungrateful towards his teachers. He did not realize that he never would have attained to *lodhi*, had he not been born and brought up on Indian soil and among Indians. He, undoubtedly, went further than his predecessors on the path of truth, but he had not to seek for this path, as it had already been shown to him by his teachers: he blotted out the name of *Ātman* and wrote in its place *karman*; he put an end to the idle discussions on metaphysical subjects and laid stress on the all-importance of the eight-fold path leading man through holiness to bliss; he substituted the ineffable *Nirvāṇa* for the ineffable *Brahman*; he, above all, freed his preaching from every tinge of privileged or hidden teaching. The seers of the Upanishads wanted to be a close circle of a few chosen thinkers and saints, and strictly objected to spreading their spiritual treasures among the folk through any kind of propaganda. Buddha's motto, on the contrary, was: "Let every one who has ears listen to the good Law,"

THE DIALECTIC OF SANKARA AND RAMANUJA IN RELATION TO THE WESTERN TYPES OF DIALECTIC

BY

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SUMMARY OF THE PAPER.

Definition of Dialectic—a method of reaching truth by clearing our fundamental concepts of their latent contradictions.

Its four forms:—*Destructive*—(1) Rejection of both the contradictories. (2) Rejection of one and acceptance of the other. (3) Making one less real than the other. *Constructive*—(4) Making them both real, *i.e.*, complementary aspects of one reality.

I

First form—its typical examples—Kant's and Zeno's Antinomies.

Analogous examples from Sankara:—

1. Contradiction between inferences regarding the Pure Self proving their illusoriness—Comparison with Kant's antinomies.

2. Contradiction exhibited by dilemmatic argument in the conception of Difference to prove its illusoriness—a similar example from Bradley.

3. Contradiction between all finite objects showing their unreality—an original application of dialectic by Sankara.

II

Second form—its typical example—Kant's Paralogisms regarding the Pure Self—contradiction between the presuppositions of these arguments and the result of transcendental reflection, showing the illusory character of the former.

A parallel example from Sankara similar both in form and substance—contradiction between the underlying assumptions of these arguments and revelation, proving the deceptive character of the former.

III

Third form—parallelism between Kant's distinction between empirical and transcendental reality and Sankara's distinction between *Vyavahārik* and *pāramārthik satya*—Sankara and Kant—Sankara and Spencer.

IV

Fourth form—Constructive Dialectic—Ramanuja and Hegel—Synthesis of contradictories by the organic conception common to Hegel and Ramanuja—Ramanuja's original contributions to dialectic—conception of the relation of body and soul—that of the relation of subject and predicate.

DEFINITION OF DIALECTIC.

Dialectic has been defined by Zeller as “the art of thinking by concepts ” and as “the logic of illusion ” (or rather as the logic of transcendental illusion) by Kant. As a matter of fact we find that dialectic, in the stricter sense, as distinct from general logic, has invariably been characterised—in spite of all the varieties of forms it has actually assumed in the hands of Zeno, Socrates, Plato, Kant and Hegel—by both the features emphasised in the above two definitions respectively, *viz.*, (a) its application to *concepts, i.e.*, those more or less fundamental general ideas which underly all our knowledge (*e.g.*, Zeno’s Being and Non-being, Plato’s Ideas, Kant’s Ideas of Reason, Hegel’s Categories) and not to particular facts of experience ; (b) a direct use of the principle of contradiction in some manner so as to expose and remove some error or illusion. Dialectic, then, is, in brief, a philosophical method of arriving at truth by purging our fundamental notions of their latent contradictions. This being the general meaning of dialectic in European philosophy, we have here to see what special forms it took in the systems of Sankara and Ramanuja in the east, and how they are related to the western forms.

Now we may classify all variations of dialectic into two broad divisions according to the two different uses made of the principle of contradiction :—

(a) The law of contradiction may be used as a principle of rejection—as a merely destructive principle, contradiction being understood as a mere mark of falsity or as a mere negation of truth. This is the use made of it in ordinary logic.

(b) The law may also be used as a principle of construction, contradiction being understood as a necessary step towards reaching the truth. This application of contradiction is characteristic of the Hegelian dialectic.

The destructive use of contradiction [*viz.* (a)], again, may take three forms :—

(i) Both the contradictories may be rejected as illusory.

(ii) Only one of them may be rejected and the other established as true.

(iii) One of them may be considered as absolutely true and the other as only relatively true.

We may now consider these four forms one by one.

I

The most conspicuous example of the first form of the destructive dialectic is Antinomy. Zeno was called by Aristotle—and very rightly too—the inventor of dialectic solely for his antinomian arguments to prove the illusory character of the conception of plurality, etc., as applied to Being.

Kant also used antinomy in connection with the Cosmological Idea. Though an exact reproduction of the western antinomy may not be met with in eastern philosophy, we come across at least some analogous examples of the special form of the destructive dialectic under consideration, here and there in Sankara's writings. We read the following, for example, in the Sarirak Bhashyam—

“यदि लोके ब्रह्मात्मत्वेन प्रसिद्धमस्ति ततो ज्ञातमेव इत्यजिज्ञास्यत्वं पुनरापन्नम् । न तद्विशेषं प्रति विप्रतिपत्तेः । देहमात्रं चैतन्यविशिष्टमात्मेति प्राकृता जना लोकायतिकाश्च प्रतिपन्नाः । इन्द्रियाण्येव चेतनानि आत्मेत्यपरे ।

मन इत्यन्ये । विज्ञानमात्रं.....एवं हि बहवो विप्रतिपन्नाः युक्तिवाक्य-
तदाभाससमाश्रयाः सन्तः ।” १।१।१

“If Brahman as the Self is well-known to all, then He cannot be any subject of inquiry, for then He is known already. It is, however, not so, as there is difference of opinion regarding His definite nature (though He is vaguely known). Ordinary people and the Charvakas conclude that this conscious body is itself the Self, others that the conscious senses constitute the Self, others again that it is mind or that it is states of consciousness.....Thus many people arrive at contradictory conclusions by resorting to fallacious arguments or paralogisms.”

In the above argument contradiction between the results of various inferences regarding the nature of the Self or Brahman is made the ground for considering them all alike illusory or as paralogisms and for considering the Self as beyond the reach of any inference. This differs from the western antinomy in the following points : we have several conflicting propositions instead of two ; and inferences leading to them are not actually developed, nor are they shown to be valid or necessary. Besides, we find here that while Kant restricts the application of antinomy to the ‘cosmological idea’ only, Sankara, like Zeno and Bradley, seems to set no such limit to its use.

A more explicit example of our first form of dialectic in the dilemmatic form is to be found in the following argument of Sankara as presented by Ramanuja in his Sreebhashyam 1.1.1 :—

“किं च, भेदो नाम कश्चित् पदार्थो न्यायविद्भिर्निरूपयितुं न शक्यते, भेदस्तावत् न वस्तुनः स्वरूपं, वस्तुस्वरूपे गृहीते स्वरूपव्यवहारवत् सर्व्वस्माद् भेदव्यवहार-प्रसङ्गेः ।...नापि धर्मः धर्मत्वे सति तस्य स्वरूपाभेदोऽवस्थाश्रयनीयः अन्यथा स्वरूपमेव स्यात्, भेदे च तस्यापि भेदस्तद्धर्मः, तस्यापीत्यनवस्था ।”

The argument in substance is as under :—Difference is either the thing itself or its attribute ; if the former, then we ought to use it for the thing in all our thought and speech, which is absurd ; if the latter, then there must be difference between it and the thing and this second difference also being an attribute must have difference with the thing and so on *ad infinitum*. Therefore, difference is a mere appearance. There is absolutely no difference in form between the above argument of Sankara and the following one of Bradley, and there is also great similarity in substance between them :—

“ But how the relation can stand to the qualities is, on the other side, unintelligible. If it is nothing to the qualities, then they are not related at all ; and if so, as we saw, they have ceased to be qualities and their relation is a non-entity. But if it is to be something to them, then clearly we now shall require a new connecting relation..... But here again we are hurried off into the eddy of a hopeless process, since we are forced to go on finding new relations without end.” (Appearance and Reality, 4th impression, pp. 32-33).

It is to be noted that the above arguments—both Sankara’s and Bradley’s—differ from Kant’s antinomies and Zeno’s arguments and also from most other arguments of Bradley himself in that they do not establish two contradictory propositions as conclusions from valid arguments like the latter, but prove that each of the two contradictory propositions lead to absurd conclusions. The object in both the cases is the same, *viz.*, to establish the illusory character of the subject of discussion itself. The difference may be symbolised thus :—

Kant’s form :— (1) A is B, \therefore X is Y
 and (2) A is not B, \therefore M is N

\therefore Both ‘A is B’ and ‘A is not B,’ which is absurd.

Sankara's form :—If A is B, then some absurdity follows ;
and if A is not B, then another absurdity follows.

Either A is B or A is not B

∴ Either this absurdity or that follows.

This is the common complex constructive dilemma.

Another point to be noted is the use made here by both Sankara and Bradley of the fallacy of *regressus ad infinitum* or अनवस्थादोष । This is one of the most favourite weapons of eastern dialecticians as well as of Kant and Bradley. And this charge of अनवस्थादोष, it may be remarked in passing, is itself an appeal to the principle of contradiction (*viz.*, between the demand of reason for a complete synthesis or finality and its failure to get one), which is the essence of dialectic, so here in fact we have a double application of dialectic—one within another.

Before leaving this particular type of destructive dialectic, we should note another peculiar extension or modification of it made by Sankara in establishing the illusoriness of the consciousness of plurality—a result achieved by Zeno by means of the ordinary antinomy (*cf.* the account of Zeno in Zeller's Outlines).

Ramanuja thus presents Sankara's argument :—

“किञ्च, घटोऽस्ति, पटोऽस्ति, घटोऽनुभूयते, पटोऽनुभूयते, इति सर्व्वे पदार्थाः सहानुभूतिघटिता एव दृश्यन्ते । अत्र सन्नातं सर्व्वानु प्रतिपत्तिस्वनुवर्त्तमानं दृश्यते, इति तदेव परमार्थः, विशेषानु व्यावर्त्तमानतया अपरमार्था रज्जु-सर्पादिवत् । यथा रज्जुरधिष्ठानतया अनुवर्त्तमाना सती परमार्थः, व्यावर्त्तमानाः सर्पभृदलनाम्बुधारादयोऽपरमार्थाः ।

ननु च, रज्जुसर्पादौ ‘रज्जुरियं, नायं सर्प’ इत्यादि रज्ज्वाद्यधिष्ठान-याथात्म्यज्ञानेन बाधितत्वात् सर्पादेरपारमार्थः, न व्यावर्त्तमानत्वात् । रज्ज्वादेरपि पारमार्थः नानुवर्त्तमानतया, किन्त्वबाधितत्वात् । अत्रतु, अबाधितानां घटादीनां कथमपारमार्थम् । उच्यते,—घटादौ दृष्टा व्यावृत्तिः, सा किंरूपेति विवेचनीयम्,—किं घटोऽस्तीत्यत्र पटाद्यभावः ? सिद्धं तर्हि घटोऽस्तीत्यनेन पटादीनां बाधितत्वम् ।

अतो ब्रह्मफलाभूता विषय-निवृत्तिर्यावृत्तिः, सा व्यावर्त्तमानानामपारमार्थं साधयति, रज्जुवत् सन्मात्रमवाधितमनुवर्त्तते ।” (Sreebhashyam, 1.1.1.)

Sankara here argues as follows :—In all our particular cognitions like those of the pot and the picture the common and persisting element is the consciousness of bare existence and that, therefore, is real ; while the particular determinations are varying or differing from thing to thing and hence unreal ; just as in the case of an illusion, the illusory character is regarded as unreal because it varies or differs, and the real character is regarded as real because of its persistence.

The very fact that determinations differ from thing to thing shows that they contradict and annul each other and hence their unreality. The pot is unreal, because the picture contradicts it and the picture is unreal because the pot contradicts it. The maxim, ‘all determination is negation’ is strangely construed by Sankara. Negation to him here becomes absolute, universal and reciprocal negation. Ordinarily we argue : it is a pot and so it is not a picture ; it is a picture, so it is not a pot. But Sankara goes further : it is a pot and so the picture does not exist, it is a picture and therefore the pot does not exist. The subtlety of Sankara’s dialectic turns a mere relation of difference into one of absolute contradiction and the latter in its turn into mutual negation or destruction. This is really original.

The above application of the dialectic method may, however, appear for its very originality in the eyes of many, esp. westerners, as a *reductio ad absurdum* of Sankara’s philosophy. Mr. John is not Mr. William and therefore neither exist. Strange argument indeed ! But a little orientation, an appreciation of Sankara’s standpoint will make this at least intelligible if not acceptable. The underlying conception of reality here is that of abstract unity. If the reality is one, it cannot be Mr. John here and Mr. William there ;

it must be one or the other. As both stand on the same ground and there is nothing to choose between them, they must both go. But do not the same conception of abstract unity and the same destructive application of the principle of contradiction tacitly underly all arguments of western relativists? Spencer, for example, would argue: when this same orange tastes sour to the old and sweet to the young, it is really neither—for that after all is the reason or meaning of saying that the taste is relative. Here also the argument derives all its force from the conception of the real fruit as an abstract unity. Here also difference or contradiction of manifestations is made the argument for their unreal character. Should any one object that what is true of individual things is not true of the totality of things, that it is quite sensible to talk of the orange as being the same but not to talk of the world as being the same everywhere seeing that it is essentially an aggregate of a plurality of things, he should be told that the real orange also is a concrete synthesis of a plurality of changing appearances. So we conclude Sankara's method is neither absurd nor absolutely new, though undeniably it has an air of freshness.

II

Let us now pass to the second variety of destructive dialectic. Here only one of two contradictory things is destroyed, the other being regarded as true on indisputable grounds. So this is not absolutely destructive like the first, but has a constructive side too. This is essentially the method employed in Kant's Paralogisms regarding the Pure Self. Certain arguments regarding the nature of the soul otherwise unexceptionable are shown to be illusory, as they proceed on certain assumptions fundamentally wrong because *contradicting* the findings of Reason by transcendental reflection and analysis. Thus it is proved that all such arguments are vitiated by the application to the noumenal self

of certain concepts applicable by that self only to its empirical objects and not to itself.

To the above argument of Kant we find an analogue both in form and substance in Sankara's argument regarding the transcendent character of the self, *i.e.*, its inaccessibility to perception and inference, in the introduction to his commentary on Brihadâraṇyaka. Sankara like Kant points out how ordinary conceptions and inferences (*e.g.*, of the Nyaya school and the Buddhists) regarding the Pure Self (सूक्ष्मदेह-व्यतिरिक्तः आत्मा) are all vitiated by the fundamentally wrong assumption that the true self is amenable either to the sense or the understanding which are conversant only with determinate things, with names and forms. Such assumption *contradicts* the revelation or the higher experience of the seer, which affirms that the self is beyond names and forms. Just as Kant condemns the Cartesian metaphysicians, Sankara condemns the Naiyayika theologians for this delusion that they can prove the existence of the self (and, for the matter of that, of God) by their logic of the understanding forgetting that that logic and that understanding are inextricably tied down to the phenomenal world. Sankara is no less emphatic in saying that the idea of the self (अहं प्रत्ययः) is subjective and illusory than Kant is in holding that the noumenal self is far beyond 'cogito,' 'ich denke' or 'synthetic unity of apperception.' Thus says Sankara—

“वैनाशिकास्तु अहमिति प्रत्यये जायमाने अपि देहान्तरव्यतिरिक्तस्य नास्तित्वमेव प्रतिजानते ।”

Anandagiri comments on the above—

“आत्मनः...सूक्ष्मदेह-व्यतिरिक्तत्वमपि न अहंप्रत्ययग्राह्यं ।” etc.

Again says Sankara—

“आगमेन आत्मास्तित्वे अवगते...सौमांसकास्तार्किकाश्च अहंप्रत्ययलिङ्गानि च वैदिकान्येव स्वमति-प्रभवानि—इति कल्पयन्तो वदन्ति प्रत्यक्षश्च अनुमेयश्च आत्मा इति ।”

Here Sankara points out how the philosophers of the Mimamsaka and the Nyâya Schools deceive themselves when they fancy that they can *infer* the existence of the transcendental self from the subjective concept of self just as they can infer the existence of fire in a particular case from smoke. They forget that in the latter case the basis of inference—the general connection between fire and smoke is known beforehand from experience, but in the former case that connection (व्याप्ति) if known at all is known from revelation and not independently evolved by their understating from experience.

The only important difference between Kant and Sankara is that while for Kant, the remedy for these persistent paralogisms is transcendental reflection, Sankara finds a safe anchorage only in the positive ecstatic intuition of the seer in this perennial stream of illusion or nescience.

III

We pass on to the third form of our destructive dialectic, where one of the two contradictory things is regarded as less real than the other, but not absolutely rejected. This is more constructive than the last.

This also is equally illustrated in Kant and Sankara. To both, the phenomenal world of ours, though negated by contradiction with the Absolute, is not absolutely unreal. Thus Kant speaks of it as *empirically real*, though *transcendentally ideal*, just as Sankara speaks of it as having *Vyavahârik satya*, though lacking in *Pâramârthik satya*. The relation between illusion and reality—between error and truth—is, of course, according to both generally to be regarded as one of contradiction (वाध्यवाधित सम्बन्ध) and that in the ordinary sense requiring the denial of one and affirmation of the other. Within the sphere of ordinary empirical knowledge, the law of contradiction reigns supreme to both.

Sankara, for example, regards our perception when carried on in the proper way and with caution as quite valid and as competent wholly to sublate an illusion in conflict with it. He says, for instance,—

“स्थाखादौ पुरुषादि दर्शनात् नेति चेत्; न; निरूपिते अभावात्। न हि प्रत्यक्षेण निरूपिते स्थाखादौ विप्रतिपत्तिर्भवति।” (Introduction to Sankara’s Commentary on Brihadâraṇyaka).

But in the case of the conflict between the practical world of names and forms and the undifferentiated absolute, the meaning of contradiction changes, the relation between illusion, and reality also becomes different. This illusion is to Sankara natural, without a beginning and without an end, or, to use Kant’s language, it is not the ordinary logical illusion but transcendental illusion. It is a mixture of truth and falsehood, of the real and the unreal. Thus he says—

“सत्यानृते मिथुनीकृत्याहमिदं ममेदमिति नैसर्गिकोऽयं लोकव्यवहारः।”

“एवमयमनादिरनन्तो नैसर्गिकोऽध्यासो मिथ्याप्रत्ययरूपः कर्तृत्व-भोक्तृत्व-प्रवर्तकः सर्वलोकप्रत्यक्षः।”

Again, he speaks of this nescience as ineffable, and indescribable either as true or false (सदसद्ग्राह्यं दुर्निरूपा).

We may pause here to sum up the results of our comparison between the dialectical methods of the two great philosophers of the east and the west—Sankara and Kant. There are numerous points of contact. Both make use of dialectic as a principle of rejection in all the three forms distinguished above. Neither rise above this destructive application. But they differ a good deal as to the degree of explicitness, logical arrangement and thoroughness. To Kant dialectic is something of an end in itself, to Sankara it is a mere means. The method of philosophy, as we know, always occupies a larger place in Kant’s thought than its conclusions, while it is just the opposite with Sankara. Hence in Kant we find a more self-conscious or deliberate

exposition of the dialectic method with all its details and with all the artistic, and even artificial symmetry of classification (into paralogism, antinomy and ideal) and illustration. All this we miss in Sankara. Sankara like a skilful artisan gracefully wields his tool of dialectic in full confidence of its efficacy, but fixing his gaze all the while not on the tool itself, but on the object to which it is applied. Moreover, the object of both in using dialectic is nearly the same : both relegate our known world to a lower grade of reality, and both place the *real* Self, World or God—and Kant's thing-in-itself or Sankara's Brahman means all the three—beyond our knowledge. Both, again, seek an escape from this awkward agnosticism—the former through faith or the postulate of practical reason and the latter through the testimony of the seers or Rishis of the Upanishads. But of the two, Sankara is better off as in his case the precariousness of blind faith is relieved by the positive doctrine of superconsciousness (or निर्विकल्प समाधि). But this last distinction is of no small significance. The greater emphasis thus put on 'the positive moment' implies a correlative increase of emphasis on 'the negative moment.' Thus the irridescence of revelation—wellnigh extinguishes the feeble light of his practical world (व्यवहारिक जगत्), throws it wholly into the back ground and makes it appear a mere shadow by its side. The empirical world of Kant, on the other hand, in spite of its denuded reality, is able to keep up appearance and to pose as practically the sole reality for us mortals by the side of that hazy abstraction of *ding-an-sich*. The negative pole—the pseudo-reality is almost as good as the positive pole—the absolute. Thus a mere difference of stress has almost led to a difference of kind and the busy world has rashly pronounced on Sankara's philosophy as the acosmism of a visionary idealist and has taken more kindly to Kant as one who did lasting service to mankind by clipping the wings of metaphysicians,

It will not be out of place here to point out how Spencer's unconscious dialectic bears much the same relation to Sankara's as does Kant's formal one. Spencer's distinction between relative knowledge which alone is attainable and absolute knowledge which is inaccessible to us, also implies two grades of reality and truth in antithesis. Spencer's relative world—like Kant's empirical world and for the same reasons—though unreal, is yet more real than Sankara's illusory world.

But none of Kant, Spencer and Sankara could rise wholly above this stage of destructive dialectic, though as compared with Zeno, they all come within measurable distance of the truly constructive view of the dialectic.

IV

So we come to the last form of dialectic which is wholly constructive. Here the emergence of contradiction anywhere serves as an impetus for rising to a higher standpoint and thus reconciling the contradictories. It is not, however, to be supposed that the principle of contradiction is transcended here. For, that principle being the principle of consistency is the last strong outpost of Reason from which she would by no means be ejected. An unresolved contradiction, as McTaggart points out, is the unerring mark of falsity. That resolution is possible only by a transition from the fragmentary snapshots of reality to an organic conception of it. It is quite conceivable that X is in part A and in part not-A, though of course A can never be not-A.

Ramanuja and Hegel both make this use of the dialectic method. Thus Ramanuja refutes Sankara's contention that difference between things constitutes absolute contradiction and so is an unreal appearance. Sankara's difficulty is to understand how the same reality X can be both A and

not-A (*e.g.*, both a pot and a picture). Ramanuja retort that there can be contradiction between A and not-A only when they are both applied to the same point, part or aspect of reality and not otherwise. For the reality to him is a concrete synthesis of a plurality of different and even contradictory things. Thus he says—

“अत्र घटपटादिषु देश-काल-भेदेन विरोध एव नास्ति ।” etc.
(Sreebhashyam 1.1.1, § 55.)

Again one reason with Sankara for considering ‘difference’ as illusory is that it implies two irreconcilable notions ‘quality’ and ‘relation.’ Ramanuja resolves this contradiction by saying that ‘difference’ is the concrete synthesis of both quality and relation. It does duty for both. It is in one point of view a relation between two things and between a thing and its quality and in another point of view the distinguishing quality itself. Difference is thus a self-relating quality (which at once qualifies and relates). Thus says Ramanuja—

“भेदश्च विकल्पासहत्वाद् दुर्निरूप इत्युक्तम् । तदपि जात्यादिविशिष्टस्यैव वस्तुनः प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वात् जात्यादेरेव प्रतियोग्यपेक्षया वस्तुनः स्वस्य च भेदव्यवहार-हेतुत्वाच्च दूरोक्तारितम् ।” (Sreebhashyam 1.1.1 § 53.)

The gist of the argument is that when I call a thing a cow, this cowness (जाति) qualifies the thing as well as distinguishes itself and the thing from other things.

Again, Sankara sees an irresolvable contradiction in the polarity of consciousness and its bifurcation into subject and object—two utterly incommensurable things (*cf.* अत्यन्त-विविक्तयोः विषयविषयिणोः etc.) and in persuance of his destructive dialectic makes short work of one correlative and raises the absolute into a pure subject; for, how could the same reality be both? But Ramanuja points out that this distinction between subject and object is real and there is no contradiction involved, the true absolute

being a concrete synthesis of subject and object. Thus he says—

“अनुभूति-तद्विषययोश्च विषयविषयिभावेन भेदस्य प्रत्यक्सिद्धत्वाद् अवाधित-
त्वाच्च अनुभूतिरेव सतोत्पेतदपि निरस्तम् ।” (Sreebhashyam 1.1.1, § 56.)

The correlatives—unity and plurality, substance and attribute, finite and infinite, mind and matter (एकत्व-बहुत्व, धर्म-धर्मिन्, सान्तानन्त, चिदचित्)—which seem to be so contradictory to Sankara that he is driven to abstract monism and acosmism, are all made equally real in a grand concrete synthesis by Ramanuja.

Thus Ramanuja reconciles unity with plurality by the conception of unity in plurality.

“यदिदमुक्तम्, “यत्, हि द्वैतमिव भवति,” “नेह नानास्ति किञ्चन” इति भेदनिषेधो बहुधा दृश्यते इति ; तत् कृत्स्नस्य जगतो ब्रह्मकार्यतया तदन्तर्यामितया च तदात्मकत्वेनैक्यात् तत्प्रत्यनोक्तनानात्वं प्रतिषिध्यते । न पुनः “बहु स्यां प्रजायेय” इति बहुभवनसङ्कल्प-पूर्वकं ब्रह्मणो नानात्वं प्रतिषिद्धं ।” (Sreebhashyam 1.1.1. § 83.)

With Hegel and his followers Ramanuja also has recourse to the organic conception to explain the relation between the one and the many, the absolute and finite things and selves, and thus save their reality. For, he compares the relation between God and the World as that between the soul and the body. Brahman informs the world in every part.

“एवं देवमनुष्यादि-पिण्डविशिष्टानां जीवानां परमात्म-शरीरतया तत्-प्रकारत्वात् जीवात्मवाचिनः शब्दाः परमात्म-पर्यन्ताः । अतः परस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रकारतयैव चिदचिदस्तुनः पदार्थत्वमिति तत्सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रयोगः ।”

(*Ibid*, 1.1.1 § 113).

Thus all creatures from gods downward are the body of the Absolute Spirit and are his modes and in that sense they are the Absolute Himself. Hence being His modes finite things and selves share in His reality. This oneness

of Brahman and creatures is to be understood as the relation of subject and predicate.

Here we find none of those ambiguities of Hegel which have led to great difference of opinion among his followers as to the very fundamental questions of the reality of divine and human personality. The analogy of the relation between body and soul is something more than the mere organic conception of the Hegelians and reconciles the contradiction between transcendence and immanence more satisfactorily than the former. The world being the organism of Brahman, the organic connection of its different parts is secured by implication as a matter of course. There is the further implication that Brahman being its soul has a sort of distinct personality though he again informs every part of that world. The reality of finite selves is clearly affirmed. The conception of finite spirits as modes of the Absolute is reminiscent of Green (ब्रह्मप्रकारत्वं जीवात्मनः).

But Ramanuja probably far outbids Hegelians by his original contribution of a potent universal solvent for all contradictions, namely, the conception of समानाधिकरण or विशिष्टविशेषणभाव, what for want of a better expression we might call the relation between subject and predicate. The ordinary form of a judgment 'this is that' appears to Sankara as a contradiction in terms, an enigma. He makes it equivalent to 'this is this,' i.e., a relation of bare identity which sacrifices 'that' and makes 'this' the absolute truth. But this is preposterous. Ramanuja retains both the identity of 'this' and 'that' and their difference. He virtually says with Miss Constance Jones (*vide* her article in *Mind* since separately published) that the relation of subject and predicate is the identity in denotation and difference in connotation. The proposition तत्त्वमसि (That art Thou) is thus interpreted as implying that we are the predicates of the same subject God and the predicate *is* the subject though only as its specific mode,

On the whole, the more one thinks of Ramanuja's dialectic, the more one is struck by his affinity to Hegel, and the divergence of latitude, longitude and culture seems to melt into the solidarity of reason which is essentially the same all the world over.

ON THE CULT OF THE SUN-GOD IN MEDIÆVAL EASTERN BENGAL.

BY

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Sūryya is the most concrete of the Solar deities of the Indo-Aryans. Ten whole hymns of the Rig-Veda embody praises of the Sun-god.

In the Atharva-Veda, Sūryya is called the ‘*lord of eyes*,’ is stated to be the one eye of created beings and to see beyond the sky, the earth and the waters. He is far-seeing, all-seeing, the spy of the whole world, beholds all beings and the good and bad deeds of mortals. Awakened by the Sun-god, men follow their respective avocations and perform their work. Common to all men, he rises as their awakener. He is the soul or the guardian of all that moves or is stationary.¹

The cult of the Sun-god also forms the theme of the *Tantras* and the *Purāṇas*. It is dealt with at length in Chapter 94 of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, in Chapter 52 of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, and in Chapter 51 of the *Agni Purāṇa*.

In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, however, the following interesting myth is related of the Sun-god. Sūryya had married Saṁgnā, the daughter of Viśvakarmā. Being unable to bear the scorching heat of her husband, she put forward a replica of herself named Chhāyā or “*the Shadow*” as her substitute and secretly fled to her paternal home. Her father, being greatly displeased with her for this act of deception, expelled her from his house. She, therefore, assumed the form of a mare and went to the Marudeśa where she lived. At first

¹ *Vedic Mythology*, By A. A. Macdonell. Strassburg. Verlag Von Karl J. Trubner, 1897, pages 30-32.

the Sun-god knew nothing of the deception that had been practised upon him and mistook Chhāyā for his real wife Saṁgnā. But when he discovered the fraud, his rage knew no bounds. Then he went to his father-in-law Viśvakarmā and demanded the restoration of his wife Saṁgnā. Being terribly frightened on seeing the Sun-god's rage, he told the latter that, being unable to stand his terrific heat any longer, Saṁgnā had come to his place but that he reprimanded her sharply. Whereupon she left his house and was, at that time, living in the guise of a mare in the Marudeśa. He, therefore, advised the Sun-god that he should submit himself to have his own self shorn of a good deal of his heat. Sūryya having agreed to this proposal, his father-in-law placed him in his polishing machine and, by grinding him, deprived him of much of the heat of his body down to his knees. But the splendour of his legs beginning from his knees down to his feet was left intact as before. Hence, in Hindu art, the legs of the Sun-god as depicted in painting on statuary are shown covered up with some sort of covering which some European and Indian scholars have mistaken for boots.¹

Section II.

The Sun-god in Mediæval Bengali Literature.

Then coming down to the Middle Ages, we find that, in the folk-literature that was current during that period in Eastern Bengal, there is ample evidence to shew that the cult of the Sun-god was widely and strongly prevalent in that part of the country during these ages.

The manuscript of an old Bengali poem entitled "*Sūryyer Pāṅchālī*" (or The Legend connected with the Ceremonial Worship of the Sun-god), which was written by the ancient Bengali poet Rāmjivana Bhaṭṭāchāryya Vidyā-

¹ For a fuller account of the cult of the Sun-god as described in the *Tantras* and the *Purāṇas* vide Paṇḍit Binodbihāri Vidyābinod's article (in Bengali) on "*Sūryyapade Upānat*" at pages 185-188 of Vol. XVI (for 1316 B.S.) of the *Baṅgiya-Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā* (The Journal of the Academy of Bengali Literature at Calcutta).

bhūshaṇa in the Saka year 1611, was discovered some years ago. The current year is 1844 Saka, therefore, this poem was composed 233 years ago.

The manuscript referred to above appears to have been copied from some older MS. about 125 years ago.

The author of this poem was born in *circa* 1587-1590 Saka in a village named Raṁgrama in Thanā Banskāli in the district of Chittagong. He wrote another lengthy Bengali poem entitled “*Manasā Maṅgala*” in 1625 Saka.

The text, in Bengali script, of “*Sūryyer Pāṇchālī*” has been printed at pages 66-79 of Vol. XIII (from 1313 B.S.) of the *Baṅgiya-Sāhityā-Parishat-Patrikā* (The Journal of the Academy of Bengali Literature at Calcutta). As this poem throws a flood of light on the cult of the Sun-god in mediæval Eastern Bengal and as it has not yet been translated into English, an abstract thereof in the same language is published below :—

In a village named Uttaranagara, there lived a poor Brāhmaṇa with his wife and two daughters named Rumunā and Jhumunā. He maintained himself and his family by begging. After some time, his wife died of fever. He performed her *śrāddha* ceremony with great difficulty.

While he went out a-begging, the two sisters used to go to the forest for the purpose of gathering herbs and greens wherewith to eke out their scanty meal. One day, while they were out in the forest, they came across a fine tank on the banks of which several beautiful-looking heavenly damsels were performing a ceremonial worship of the Sun-god. Seeing the two girls, the latter enquired of them about their parentage, place of residence and the reasons which had brought them to that forest which was infested by wild beasts. To their queries, the former replied that they were the daughters of a poor Brāhmaṇa who maintained them by begging, that their mother had died during their infancy, and that they were in very straitened circumstances.

Hearing the sad life-story of the two girls, the heavenly damsels advised them to perform the ceremonial worship of the Sun-god who, being pleased thereat, would confer on them the boons of happiness and prosperity. Agreeably to their advice, the two sisters ceremonially worshipped the Sun-god and thereafter, started for their home.

On their return home, they found that, by the blessings of the Sun-god, their homely hut had been transformed into a well-furnished mansion filled with wealth and all sorts of necessities of life. Thereafter their father also returned home from his begging round. Rumunā and Jhumunā informed him of the whole circumstances under which they had attained to prosperity.

Since that time, the Brāhmaṇa and his two daughters daily worshipped the Sun-god with due rites.

Now Rumunā and Jhumunā advised their father to beg of the Sun-god the boon of a suitable bride whom he might marry as his second wife. He acted up to their advice and prayed to the Sun-god accordingly.

At that time, there lived a Rājā who had a daughter of a marriageable age and had, therefore, made up his mind to give her away in marriage to whomsoever he would find at the gate of the palace on the next morning. Learning about this determination of the Rājā, the Sun-god appeared in a dream to Rumunā and Jhumunā, informed them of the Rājā's resolve, and directed them to send their father to the latter's palace on the next morning.

Dreaming this dream, the two sisters sent their father to the Rājā's palace on the next morning. The Rājā, who was bent upon carrying out his resolve, gave the princess away in marriage to the Brāhmaṇa with the addition of a suitable dowry. The latter returned home with his newly-wedded bride and lived with her and his two daughters happily for some time.

Seeing that her two step-daughters worshipped the

Sun-god regularly, the Brāhmaṇa's second wife got jealous of them and concocted a secret plan to expel them from the house.

Accordingly, one day, she told her husband to send the two sisters away to the forest, failing which she would go back to her father's palace. Hearing this proposal, the Brāhmaṇa was in a pretty fix and did not know what to do.

At last, he hit upon the pretext of taking them to their maternal aunt's house and, when he would arrive in the forest, of leaving them there. The elder sister was overjoyed at this proposal of their father's. But the younger sister, who was more clever than her elder one, saw through their father's design and told her that he was banishing them to the forest in compliance with their step-mother's request.

On the day fixed for their departure they tied up all the paraphernalia for worshipping the Sun-god within the hem of their *Sāris* and started with their father. Fatigued with travel, they two fell asleep. Finding them thus asleep, he left them in the forest and came back home.

Waking up from sleep, and not finding their father, the two sisters wept bitterly. At last, restraining their grief, they went to a tank to bathe therein. While bathing therein, they found a golden jar floating in the water. They took hold of it and became greatly delighted. Taking it with them, they left the forest and came back to their paternal house.

Seeing them back at home, their step-mother became greatly angry and abused them. Whereupon they again left their father's house and went back to the forest.

Greatly disturbed in mind at their cruel step-mother's ill-treatment of themselves, they worshipped the Sun-god with great devotion. The deity, being pleased with their worship and taking compassion on them, built for them a nice cottage in the forest wherein they dwelt in sorrow but regularly worshipped him every Sunday.

One day, Anaṅgaśekhara, Rājā of Pārvatipura, came to this forest with his whole army. Greatly suffering from

thirst, his followers wandered about in search of water. In course of their search they came across the two girls living in their dwelling-house. They asked for a drink of water from them who accordingly filled up a pitcher with water and made the same over to them. Having quenched their thirst, the Rājā and his followers were greatly astonished to find that the pitcher remained full of water as before, notwithstanding their having drunk their fill of it. He enquired of his men as to where they had got this pitcher of water. The latter informed him of the two girls who had supplied them with the water. Thereupon he went to the cottage where he found the two girls Rumunā and Jhumunā whom he brought with him to his palace. Subsequently, he married the elder sister Rumunā ; while his *Kotwāl* took to wife the younger one Jhumunā. In course of time, the two sisters became pregnant.

One day, Rājā Anaṅgaśekhara saw his Rāṇī worshipping the Sun-god and enquired of her the name of the deity she was paying her devoirs to. Learning that she was worshipping the Sun-god, he kicked off, with his feet, the paraphernalia of worship. From that time forth misfortunes befell him. His horses and elephants began to die off by scores ; and his palace fell into ruins.

But the *Kotwāl's* wife began to worship the Sun-god ; and in consequence thereof, prosperity and affluence reigned in her husband's house.

When misfortunes befell Rājā Anaṅgaśekhara, he told the *Kotwāl* that he had been ruined by marrying the girl from the forest and, therefore, ordered him to execute her at once. The *Kotwāl*, however, took her to the forest and comfortably accommodated her there. While for satisfying the Rājā, he slew a goat and showed its blood to his master, saying that it was the Rāṇī's blood.

Left in the forest, Rāṇī Rumunā lived there for some time and, then, gave birth to a son. In the meantime, a son

was also born to the *Kotwāl's* wife. The Rāṇī's son was named Dukhrāj ; while the *Kotwāl's* son was named Sukhrāj.

When the Rāṇī's son Dukhrāj became five years old, he began to wander about in the forest with a bow and arrows in his hand. One day, he came across the Sun-god in the guise of a bird and shot an arrow at it, whereupon it said : "Your birth is not of an immaculate character, as you cannot recognise your own father." Being cut to the quick by these stinging words, he came home, informed his mother of the incident, and, in a huff, went to the house of his maternal aunt. There he lived happily for some time.

After some time, his maternal aunt gave Dukhrāj a lot of presents and sent him back to his mother in the forest. On the way, the Sun-god assuming the guise of an old man, robbed him of his valuables. Thereafter he returned home and informed his mother of the robbery.

Shortly afterwards, both Rumunā and her son left the forest and went to a florist-woman's garden where they lived for some time and then went to the *Kotwāl's* house.

In the *Kotwāl's* house, the two sisters Rumunā and Jhumunā lived happily, regularly worshipped the Sun-god and ate cakes made of clay whereupon the deity took compassion on the deserted Rāṇī and caused the Rājā to remember her. As soon as he remembered her, he ordered the *Kotwāl* to bring her back immediately, failing which he said he would put him and his family members to death.

Hearing the Rājā's command, the *Kotwāl* went home and informed his wife of the same. She, however, told her husband to be of good cheer and to invite his master—the Rājā—to his own place. This was accordingly done.

The Rājā accepted the invitation and came to the *Kotwāl's* house. While he was sitting at his meal there, he recognised his son Dukhrāj and his deserted wife Rumunā. Thereafter he left with his Rāṇī and son for his own palace. On the way thither, he saw some bad omens, and, being

angered thereby, ordered one hundred *Hādīs* to be executed. This was accordingly done; and he and his family reached the palace in safety.

One day, while the Rāṇī was worshipping the Sun-god, the mother of the one hundred *Hādīs*, who had been executed at the Rājā's command, came to her and began to complain of the death of her sons. Whereupon the former told the latter to pray to the Sun-god for the restoration of her dead sons to life. This the latter did accordingly with a halter round her neck.

Having been propitiated by her worship the Sun-god, addressing her from heaven, said: "If the bodies of the decapitated *Hādīs* and their heads should be brought together, and the consecrated water used in my worship should be sprinkled over the same, the heads would get joined to the necks, and the *Hādīs* would come to life again."

This was done accordingly; and the one hundred deceased *Hādīs* came to life again, and appeared before the Rājā who was greatly astonished at seeing them alive again. Enquiring from the Rāṇī the cause of their coming to life again, he told her: "If you have the power to bring the dead to life again, please restore my deceased parents to life again."

The Rāṇī was greatly mortified at the Rājā's command. But the Sun-god appeared before her in a dream and said: "If the Rājā would devoutly worship me, I shall restore his deceased parents to life again." Dreaming this dream, she was greatly comforted in her mind and informed her husband of it.

The Rājā accordingly worshipped the Sun-god and, as the result thereof, saw his deceased parents with whom he went to the "City of the Sun," after having made over kingdom to the prince.

The poem concludes with the following instructions:—

1 and 2. Whoever would worship the Sun-god in this way, would be always preserved by his deityship (from all harm).

3 and 4. Śrī Rāmjivana says : “Contemplate upon the Sun-God (so that your) mind may sit, like a bee, upon his lotus feet.”

[The foregoing mediæval Bengali legend bears a striking similarity to the one that is recited in connection with the ceremonial worship of the deity Itu-Rā'la which is performed in Eastern Bengal on the Sunday following the day in the month of Agrahāyaṇa (November-December) on which the deities Kshettra and Budāṭhākuraṇī are worshipped.]¹

From Rāmjivana Bhaṭṭāchāryya Vidyābhūṣaṇa's “*Sūryer Pāñchālī*,” we learn :—

(a) That the worship of the Sun-god was very popular in Eastern Bengal during the 17th and the preceding centuries of the Christian Era ;

(b) That the people of the countryside worshipped this deity for obtaining the boons of happiness and prosperity ; and

(c) That it was further believed that, if the consecrated water used in the worship of this god were sprinkled upon the bodies of dead men, they would come to life again.

Section III.

The cult of the Sun-God in Barisāl District.

Some years ago, some interesting folk-songs describing a few of the leading incidents in the career of the Sun-god were discovered in the district of Barisal in Eastern Bengal. These songs are thirteen in number ; and the texts thereof, in Bengali script, have been published by the University of Calcutta.²

As these folk-songs are very interesting, I have published, in the Appendix of this paper, the translations thereof in Devanāgarī characters in order that scholars in other parts of India may be enabled to read the texts of the same.

¹ *Meyeli Vratakathā*. By Paramesaprasanna Rāya, 2nd Edition, Calcutta ; Asutosh Library, No. 50-1, College Street, pp. 70-87.

² *Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature*, Part I, published by the University of Calcutta, 1914, pp. 164-171.

As these folk-ballads have not yet been translated into English, I publish the translations thereof into the same language in the Appendix of this paper.

From the number of archaic Bengali words and phrases which have been used in these folk-ballads, it would appear that they are very old. Some scholars are of opinion that they were composed before the Pauranic Age.¹

From an examination of these folk-ballads, we infer that, during the Middle Ages, the cult of the Sun-god was very popular in the district of Barisāl in Eastern Bengal and that there songs or hymns used to be chanted in every Hindu household in connection with the ceremonial worship of this deity.

We have already seen that, in the olden times, the practice was prevalent in Eastern Bengal, of describing the leading incidents in the life and career of a popular deity or saint, in the form of ballads or hymns and of chanting them on the occasion of the ceremonial worship of that god or *pir*. This will be evident from the instance of the saint Sonārāya whose birth, marriage and several other incidents of life have been described in the Six Folk-Songs which have been published and discussed by me elsewhere² and which are sung in the district of Pābnā in Eastern Bengal on the occasion of the festival held in honour of that Saint.

The same practice has also been followed in the case of the Sun-god in the district of Barisāl in Eastern Bengal, as will appear from an examination of the thirteen folk-songs about this deity, of which the translations into English are being published in the Appendix of this article.

The first of these folk-ballads from Barisāl describes the Sun-god's beauty and the scene at the time of his rising.

The second song sets forth the deity's awakening from sleep.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

² *Journal of the Department of Letters of the University of Calcutta*, Vol. VIII, Calcutta University Press, 1922, pp. 173-206.

The third describes his bathing.

The fourth one describes how he obtained his *dhoti*, napkin and the paraphernalia of worship.

The fifth song describes the way in which he was worshipped by his votaries.

The sixth one describes his journey and crossing of a river.

The seventh sets forth how the desire to get married arose in his mind.

The eighth song tells the story as to how the go-between who had gone in quest of a suitable bride for his deityship, came back with the information about her.

The ninth one gives an account of the purchase of the articles for the Sun-god's marriage with Gaurī.

The tenth song describes his marriage with Gaurī.

The eleventh one describes the preparations made by his deityship for going to his father-in-law's place.

The twelfth sets forth how his bride Gaurī paid a visit to her father-in-law's place.

The thirteenth and the last one of these folk-ballads describes the way in which he made up his mind to supply his bride's wants.

Section IV.

The Noteworthy Features of the Cult of Sun-God in Barisāl District.

The most noteworthy features of the aforementioned thirteen folk-songs are the following :—

(A). It would appear from lines 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23 and 24 of the Song No. I as also from those numbered II and III that, they are charms whereby the Sun is caused

to come out of the sky and shine upon the earth below. In this respect, they bear a similarity to the nursery-rhymes which are still current in Lower Bengal and which are chanted by little children on foggy or cloudy mornings without knowing that they are thereby praying to the Sun-god and imploring him to come out of the sky and shine upon the earth below, as they are very much in need of his vivifying influences.

Take, for instance, the nursery-rhyme No. 52 of Sarkār's Collection¹ and see how the moon is represented therein as going to the Sun's place, describing to the latter the miseries from which the men and beast of the mundane world are suffering for want of sunshine, and, therefore, imploring him to come out of the sky and shine upon the earth below. The whole matter is vividly set forth in the following conversation between the two luminaries :—

“ 1, 2 and 3. * * * * ”

4. The moon went to the sun's place.

5. The sun gave him a wooden seat to seat upon.

6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11. (Thereafter, addressing the sun, the moon said :) ‘(O Sun! I) shall not sit upon the wooden seat, (as) the men (of the earth below) are dying for want of food (which scarcity is due to the fact that the food-crops are not growing for want of sunshine), and the cattle are dying for want of grass (as grass is not growing for want of sunshine). (I) have, therefore, come to your place (and implore you most earnestly) to shine most brilliantly upon the earth below from to-morrow. Do be good enough to accede to my request.’ ”

Again, in the nursery-rhyme No. 324 of the same collection, the following prayer is addressed to the Sun-god:—

“ 1. O Sun-god! shine (upon the earth).

¹ *Khukumanir Chhadā*, by Jogindranāth Sarkār, 6th Edition, Calcutta, The City Book Society, No. 64, College Street, 1426 B. S.

2. Shine upon the forest of plantain trees.

3. (The Sun-god having acceded to the above prayer and shone upon the forest of plantain trees), the bunches of plantains ripened (by the influence of the Sun's rays).

4. O Sun-god! (by way of thanksgiving for this boon conferred by you upon mankind), (I shall endow) an umbrella to be erected over your head."

Then again, in the nursery-rhyme No. 216 of Sarkār's Collection, the Sun-god is addressed as a maternal uncle, and the following prayer is made to him:—

"1. O maternal uncle Sun! O maternal uncle Sun! shine (upon the earth).

2 and 3. Your mother-in-law has asked you to slice the brinjals (for cooking purposes). (Accordingly), the sun sliced the brinjals. (But the pity of it is that) his wife is a flat-nosed lady.

4 and 5. (O maternal uncle Sun!) place your hands upon the big granary, place your feet upon the small granary, and come shining forth brilliantly."

In the Rig-Veda, it is stated that "the adorable light of Sūryya in the sky is as the face (*anika*) of great Agni." In several other passages of the same work, he is called "the eye of Agni."¹

We have a faint echo of this Vedic identification of the Sun-god with Agni or the Fire-god in the last line of the following nursery-rhyme No. 237 of Sarkār's Collection:—

"1 and 2. (As) the flowers of the *jheṅgā* (or *jhiṅgā*) creeper (*Luffa acutangula*) have bloomed in the *cheṅgā*² field, (O Sun!) shine forth brilliantly (*chheṅg chheṅgāiyā*).

3. (The giver of) sunshine is (as powerful as) a king and infuses strength and energy into men (by his vivifying influence).

¹ Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, pages 30-32.

² The meaning of this Bengali dialect word is obscure.

4. The fire (like Sun) is an indolent fellow, (as) he does not pour forth his beams upon mankind (*lit.* as he does not cover mankind with his beams)."

In the folk-ballad No. II the Sun-god is prayed-to to wake up from his sl ep. This custom of chanting a hymn or song for the purpose of imploring a deity to wake up from his sleep and to do some benefit to his votaries, appears to be prevalent in connection with the cult of many a popular god, especially of Śiva, as will appear from the undermentioned instances.

On the occasion of the festival which is celebrated in the month of Chaitra (March-April) for the purpose of worshipping the deity Isāneśvara (an incarnation of Śiva) in the village of Kudmun in the district of Burdwan in Western Bengal the undermentioned hymn or folk-song which is analogous to the foregoing one in propitiation of the Sun-god, is sung or chanted by the worshippers of that deity in order to rouse him from his sleep:—

"(1) O Lord! break your meditative sleep. We, who are your worshippers, are making obeisance at your feet, give up your sleep.

(2) You are sleeping with Kārttika and Gaṇeśa on your lap. How can we make obeisance to you?

(3) O King of the gods who is asleep on a bedstead! awake from sleep (and) always keep your spouse Gaurī on your left side.

(4) O Lord! you are the king of the gods. Brahmā and Viṣṇu (always) recite propitiatory hymns in order to please you. No other gods can be your equal (in omnipotence).

(5) O Lord! give up all desire of sleep and have pity on your worshippers. O God! you are known as Tripurāri on this earth.

(6) (O Lord!) you hold in your hands a horn and a small kettledrum (called the *dambura*). Keep your riding ox on your left-hand side, Let the snake with (its) distended

hood remain (on your head). You bear on your head the cool-watered Ganges. You hold the (crescent) moon on your forehead. In the centre of the crescent moon is a spot of sandalwood-paste. Round your neck is a chaplet of bones. Your whole body is besmeared with ashes.

(7) O Lord ! O three-eyed God ! remove all our troubles and difficulties. We are weak and powerless and therefore, depend on you (for protection), come to our assistance. In the *Sāstras*, you are called the lord Gaṅgādhara and the God of the gods. O conqueror of death ! pardon our faults.

(8) O Siva ! leave the Mount Kailāsa ; (and) come riding on your ox. You are known on this earth as the god Tripurāri, come to this place of worship. We are making five obeisances at your feet.”¹

Similarly, in the district of Māldā in Northern Bengal on the occasion of the celebration of the *Siva-pujā* festival which is known there as “*the Worship of the Gambhirā*,” the deity Sadāśiva is prayed-to to wake up from his sleep by the recital of the following chant :—

“ 1. O Sadāśiva ! rise, rise, Break your sleep.

2. Your votaries have come from Aula to see you.

3 and 4. Open the sandalwood doors (of your temple), (your votaries) are offering you milk and Ganges-water (and) are making twelve obeisances at your feet.”²

(B) The folk-ballad No. V proves, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the popularity and the wide-spread character of the cult of the Sun-god, during the middle ages, in Eastern Bengal. From the study of this song, we learn that the sun-deity was prayed-to and propitiated by his votaries with the presentation of various kinds of offerings in order to make him shine forth upon this earth, for men cannot live without

¹ *Baṅgīya-Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā* (The Journal of the Academy of Bengali Literature at Calcutta), Vol. XVIII (for 1318 B. S.), pp. 211-212.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.

his life-giving beams. The deity accedes to their prayers, accepts their offerings, and, being propitiated thereby, he pours forth his beams upon the world below, as will appear from line 14 of this song which says : " Having received the worship (from his worshippers,) the boy sun-god looked all around (him)."

(C) In lines 4, and 5 of the folk-song No. VI, the Sun-god has been called Hari as well as Śiva. The reason for thus identifying the Sun-deity with Hari (or Viṣṇu) and Śiva is not far to seek. It seems to me that, most likely, the worship of the Sun-god was waning in popularity at the time of the composition of these folk-ballads and that, for the purpose of enhancing its value in the popular estimation, this deity is represented to the people as being three deities rolled into one. Then again, with this very object in view, a legend about the deity Śrī Kṛṣṇa has also been interpolated into this song, for, in line 5 hereof, we find it stated that the Sun-god, accompanied by sixteen hundred *gopinis* or milk-maids, is going to Mathurā, and that the boatman Bisai, imitating Śrī Kṛṣṇa's jesting prank with these ladies, causes the boat to heel over one side (line 12).

Then again, for the purpose of proclaiming the greatness of the Sun-god, the divine artificer Viśvakarmā is represented as playing the part of the boatman who ferried his deityship across the river.

The forgoing instances of the intermingling of legends are quite in accordance with the device which is adopted by the exponents of the cults of lesser or waning popularity for the purposes of promulgating the greatness of their cult-heroes or cult-deities or of reviving their lost popularity among the people. This will be borne out by an examination of the legendary lore which has gathered about the life and career of the deified saint Māṇik Pīr. Now this saint is highly venerated not only by the Musalmāns but also by the Hindus.

The greatest exploit by which this Pīr revealed himself to the world as a duly authorized prophet of God was the miracle performed by him in the house of the two milkmen Kānu Ghosh and Kinu Ghosh of Virāṭnagara. When he went to their house, both of them were absent from home. He, therefore, called for a drink of milk from their mother who refused to supply him with it, falsely saying that she had none at that moment, though, as a matter of fact, she had then a goodly quantity of milk and curds in the house. Thereupon he miraculously obtained some milk from a barren cow, still she refused to give it to him. Being annoyed with her mother-in-law's persistent refusal, Kānu Ghosh's wife secretly gave the saint some milk wherewith he quenched his thirst. When her mother-in-law came to know of it, she flew into a towering rage and treated her daughter-in-law with great cruelty. This enraged the Pīr who punished the milkmen and their mother by depriving them of their wealth but afterwards, at the intercession of the good daughter-in-law, restored them to their former prosperity.¹

Now an echo of Māṇik Pīr's miraculous exploit in the house of the milkmen of Virāṭnagara has been introduced into the cult of Pīr Sonārāya which is prevalent in the district of Pābnā in Eastern Bengal, and into that of the tiger-deity Bāghāi which is current in the district of Mymensingh in the very same part of this province.

Here the question arises : why has this been done ? Fortunately, we have not to go far afield for the purpose of finding the reply thereto which is as follows :—

The cult-hero Pīr Sonārāya and the cult-deity Bāghāi are only deified saints of an inferior rank who are venerated and prayed-to only by a limited number of votaries. Therefore for the purpose of promulgating their greatness to the

¹ *The Folk Literature of Bengal*, by Dr. Dineschandra Sen, published by the University of Calcutta, 1920, pp. 117-123.

people at large and, thereby, of gaining a larger number of votaries for them, the exploit (or, at least, a faint shadow of it) performed by the highly venerated saint Mānik Pīr has been ascribed to the aforementioned cult-hero Sonārāya and the cult-deity Bāghāi.

In the case of Pīr Sonārāya, we find the incident described as follows :—

8 and 9. Swaying his body to and fro, he went to the milk-maid's house and said : 'O milk-maid ! O milk-maid ! give me some curdled milk.'

10. The milk-maid replied : 'The milch cow has gone to the tethering place. I have got no curdled milk in my house.

11. Sonārāya rejoined : 'Having kept your curdled milk on the hanging string-suspender, you have defrauded your Pīr (or saint).'

12 and 13. The milk-maid further replied : 'Had I known, before, that you are my Pīr (or saint), I would have given you, first of all, milk and plantains, and then, thickened milk sweetened with sugar.'

In the case of the cult-deity Bāghāi the aforementioned incident has been set forth as follows :—

* * * * *

"5. O Sonārāma ! O Sonārāma ! have you got curdled milk ?

6. The milkman (Sonārāma) says that he has got curdled milk. But his wife—the milk-maid—says that she has not got it.

7. Nine lakhs of kine fell down and died at their tethering place.

8. Nine lakhs of kine and nine lakhs of calves died.

¹ Vide my article "On the Cult of Sonaraya in Eastern Bengal" in the *Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. VIII, the Calcutta University Press, 1922, pp. 182-883.

9 and 10. One of the daughters of the milkman's family, who is the wife of the Sun, took an iron rod in her hand, and ran to the carpenter's house.

11. Thereupon, the kine, which had died seven days before, came to life again and fought with each other."¹

This folk-song also contains several references to contemporary manners and customs.

In line 10 of this ballad, it is stated that the boat, in which the Sun-god was ferried across the river, was made of sandal-wood from fore to aft. This leads us to infer that the vessel was a show-boat, made of costly materials and decorated suitably in accordance with the prevailing fashion of the period. Most likely, it was what was known in those days as a "*madhukara*" or "the bee."

From line 7 hereof, we learn that cowry-shells (*Cypræa moneta*) were used as currency during the period in which these songs were composed, for we find that, the boatman Biśai, addressing the Sun-god, says: "Pay me the hire (*lit.*, cowry-shells) for rowing you all across the river." Their use as money is frequently mentioned in the older Bengali literature. From the remotest antiquity, these small white shells have been used as the currency of Southern Asia and, more particularly of China. Their use as money is mentioned by Mas'udi (943 A.D.), Marco Polo and many other writers.

Then again, from line 21 hereof, we learn that, during the period in which these folk ballads were composed, the custom was prevalent of sprinkling the house with sandal-wood paste as a token of welcoming an honoured guest. It appears to be the antetype of the modern custom of showering rose-water over an honoured guest by way of welcoming him.

(D) From the folk ballad No. VIII, we learn that during the tenth century A.D. or thereabouts, when these

¹ Vide my paper "On the Vestiges of Tigger Worship in the District of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, pp. 608-609.

folk songs are stated to have been composed,¹ the custom was prevalent in Bengal of employing go-betweens or marriage-brokers for negotiating and settling the preliminaries of marriages. This custom is not only prevalent in this province at the present day, but is also widely spread in other oriental countries and even in some parts of Europe, as will appear from the examples given below.

Among the Kandyans of Ceylon, a would-be bridegroom sends a go-between who is, more often than not, his maternal uncle (a survival of the matriarchate) to the family of his intended bride for the purpose of settling the marriage-preliminaries.² [Compare with the analogous custom which is prevalent among the Bhutias of Tibet. Among this people, astrologers are, first of all, consulted to decide the question whether or not the proposed marriage would turn out lucky. If the question is decided by them in the affirmative, go-betweens, who are usually the uncles (unfortunately it is not stated whether they are maternal or paternal ones) of both the would-be bridegroom and bride are summoned to meet at the former's home and then sent to the latter's place to settle the details of the marriage.³]

In China, the marriages are negotiated and settled (subject to the approval of the astrologers) by professional match-makers who are variably designated by the names of go-betweens, "arrange-alls" and "bride-seekers." There are both male and female go-betweens, as there are in Bengal in the present day. The match-makers of the sterner sex, are well-known for their honest dealings; while those of the softer sex are considered to be expert at driving the best bargains for their employers.⁴

¹ *The Folk Literature of Bengal*, by Dr. Dineschandra Sen, published by the University of Calcutta, 1920, p. 255.

² *Wooings and Weddings in Many Climes*, by L. J. Milne, London and Bombay : George Bill and Sons, 1901, p. 174.

³ *Report of the Census of India, 1901*, Vol. VI, Appendixes xxviii and xxix.

⁴ *Wooings and Weddings in Many Climes*, by L. J. Milne, London and Bombay, 1901, p. 130.

But, in Japan, the marriage-details are arranged and settled through the agency of a go-between or "middle-man" who is always a male, in no case, a female.¹

In Turkey, the functions of the go-betweens or match-makers are performed by the *Koula-vonz* who is authorised by the state to act as the official witness of the betrothal, the marriage-ceremony, and its confirmation.²

Then coming to European countries, we find that, among the modern Greeks also, the professional match-maker is employed to arrange and settle the matches.³

In Lower Brittany, the village tailor plays the same part in all wooings and weddings, as is done by the professional go-betweens or match-makers of Oriental countries.⁴

In Hungary, the functions of the go-between are performed by the "speak-for-man" or "wife-seeker" who accompanies the lover to the house of his would-be bride and praises the would-be bridegroom by the recital of laudatory verses, and also sings the praises of the maiden, of her parents, and of their dwelling-house, and asks for her parents' consent to the betrothal.⁵

In lines 6 and 7 of this song, the go-between states that he has seen the would-be bride's feet and her long hair. It is needless to remind the Bengali Hindu readers of this paper that these customs of looking at the intended bride's feet and hair are prevalent in this province even at the present day. The feet are looked up in order to find out whether or not they are well-formed and shapely, as the possession of well-formed and shapely feet is considered a good omen—a sign portending good luck to the parties intending to be married. The hair is looked up as the possession of long and flowing hair is considered a sign of beauty.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 353.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 332.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 152.

(E) From line 2 of the song No. IX, we learn that Gauri's mother purchased sandal wood for the marriage of the Sun-god with Gaurī. Most likely, it was for the purpose of making it into a paste which, as we have seen above, was required for sprinkling on the house as a token of welcome to the bridegroom and the other guests who would come with him.

From line 4 of this song, we come to know that she also purchased a crown for the marriage. Most likely, it was required because Gaurī would wear it on the occasion of her marriage, and subsequently as an ornament. It was probably made of gold or silver, and bejewelled with gems. The custom of a bride's wearing a crown on the occasion of her marriage survives, at the present day, in the practice of the Bengali bride's wearing, on her marriage-night, a head-gear made of pith and silver tinsel which is called the *sinti mayūra*. Most likely, the crowns worn by the brides of the olden days very much resembled those which can now be seen adorning the heads of the goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon.

The custom of a bride's wearing a crown on the occasion of her marriage is prevalent in many countries of Asia and Europe.

In India, the custom is prevalent among the Sikhs of the Punjab. The Sikh bride is crowned pretty much in the same way as the Chinese and the Norwegian brides are; and the sacred marriage-thread is tied round her neck.¹

In China, every bride wears a crown which somewhat resembles the crowns worn by brides of Norway. This crown is made up of tinsel and mock jewells; and from all round it hangs a thick veiling of strings of pearls and silken tissels.²

Then travelling to Northern Europe, we find that, in Norway the brides wear crowns of value, sometimes of great

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 349.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

value. These crowns are the property of the church and are loaned out for a fee. They are made of gilt silver; and from them hang silver coins and small trinkets which ring like small bells when the wearer moves about. A good idea of this crown may be obtained from an inspection of the coloured plate entitled: "A Wedding Procession, Norway," which faces page 1105 of Volume II of Hutchinson's *Customs of the World*.

The Norse bride, like the myrtle-crowned bride of Germany, wears her crown when she goes to the church, pretty much in the same way as the Knights of the olden times wore their gauntlets in their helmets when they rode to the tournament. The bride who crowns herself in this way proclaims her chastity to all on-lookers and challenges all the world to disprove it. Should any one have the audacity to challenge her chastity, he pulls off her crown as she enters the church-door. The social penalties inflicted upon a person who makes such an accusation and fails to prove it are very severe.

In Sweden, the bride wears a wreath of myrtle or a crown which is hired out by the church and which is very much like that worn by the Norwegian brides.¹

Among the peasantry of continental non-Latin Europe, the brides wear nuptial crowns. The German bride also wears a stiff tower-like crown of crimson colour which is several inches higher than the curious hat worn by the Parsis but is rounder and devoid of its strange indentation at the top. Coins and buttons and bits of tinsel are stuck all over it; and many charms encircle and dangle from it. She also wears a wreath of myrtle and rosemary and twigs of white rose on the exterior of her crown. This wreath proclaims her virginity. If any body entertains the slightest doubt about her chastity he tears off the wreath from her head and tramples it under foot before she enters the church-door.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

Although the Germans, like the Eskimos and the Scandinavians do not set a high value upon pre-nuptial chastity still they resent and surely punish any mis-assumption of its badges.¹

In Hungary, the bride wears a glittering crown which, though not valuable, is stuck all over with bits of looking-glass and adorned with the national colours of the country which are green, white and red.²

(F) In line 4 of the folk song No. XI, we come across a curious form of omen-taking which appears to have been current in Eastern Bengal during the olden times. The Sun-god is instructed therein as follows: "If you see, on the way, a maternal uncle, accompanied by his sister's son ploughing a field, you should keep them on your left (as this omen is very auspicious)."

We think that this form of omen-taking is a survival of the matriarchate. In a matripotestal form of family, a woman, as also her children, lives in her paternal home. Consequently, the maternal uncle, along with the mother, exercises considerable authority over his sister's sons and is helped by the latter in the carrying on of his household business and agricultural operations. This being so, the sight of the ploughing of a field by a maternal uncle and his sister's son was a familiar one in a community wherein the matriarchate prevailed. When the matriarchate had ceased to exist, any survival of it would be looked upon with feelings bordering upon veneration and sanctity, so much so that, in course of time, the seeing of any such survival came to be considered as a prognosticator of good luck to the seer thereof.

This process of evolution is paralleled by that according to which articles of indigenous manufacture such as looking-glasses of polished metal, wooden combs, and the like, which

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

were used in the olden times but have fallen into desuetude at the present day, are looked upon in the light of bringers of good luck, and are, therefore, used in modern Bengali ritual, to the utter exclusion of similar articles of foreign manufacture.

In line 5 of this song, the Sun-god is cautioned, first of all, to wipe with a cloth the prepared betel-leaves (which might be offered to him by his wife's sisters) and then to eat the same.

This refers to the Bengali womenfolk's practice of deceiving a bridegroom by giving him mock articles of food to eat. In this case, the spiced betel leaves offered to the Sun-god might be besmeared with some nauseous substance by his wife's sisters. If he unknowingly partook of the same with the nouseating mixture sticking thereto, the consequences of his indiscretion might place him in a ridiculous light and result in the ladies' triumph over him. Hence is the afore-mentioned precaution imparted to him.

This practice of the womenfolk's deceiving a bridegroom by offering him mock articles of food to eat, and mock carpet-seats to sit upon, was prevalent in Bengal in the ancient times, these used to be offered to him by his wife's sisters or the wives of his wife's brothers. If he was tricked into eating the same or into sitting thereupon, considerable merriment was caused to the ladies who had triumphed over him.

This practice, though considered unmannerly in these days of enlightened views and new-fangled ideas, was looked upon as a great source of merriment to the womenfolk in the olden times in Bengal, so much so that we have a description of some forms of these practical jokes in an old Bengali *brochure* entitled *Ushāharaṇa*, by Pitāmbara Sen. It was printed from wooden types on the old yellow-colored paper called *tulat* paper. The date of its printing is not mentioned therein. One form of these practical jokes was to procure the root-portion of a plantain-tree, to scoop out its cord and

then to fill up the cavity with cow's urine—thereby transforming it into a “make-believe” young cocoanut full of milk. A second one was to make a mock carpet-seat by arranging differently coloured powders upon the ground. A third one was to scoop up a few frogs within a bell-metal receptacle for keeping dressed and spiced betel-leaves in and then to offer it to the bridegroom. If he unsuspectingly took off the lid thereof for the purpose of taking the betel-leaves therefrom, out jumped the frogs from the inside thereof to his utter discomfiture and to the great merriment of the ladies.¹

(G) In line 1 of the folk song No. XII, the bride Gaurī is told by her mother to go weeping to her father-in-law's place. In lines 19, 20, 21 and 22 hereof, her father, mother, brothers, sisters and even her neighbours are represented as weeping at her approaching departure from their midst. I shall show later on that this weeping is done in accordance with a widespread custom. In this respect, this folk song bears a striking similarity to the nursery-rhyme No. 365 of Sarkār's collection, which runs as follows :—

“1. To-day Durgā's *adhibāsa* ceremony will take place. To-morrow Durgā's marriage ceremony will come off.

2. Durgā will go to her father-in-law's place, plunging the whole world in grief.

3 and 4. Durgā's mother, who has suckled her, has thrown herself upon the ground and is weeping (at her approaching departure).

5 and 6. Durgā's father, who has given her a chestful of money, is sitting in his darbar and weeping (at her approaching departure).

7 and 8. Durgā's maternal aunt who has served out to her platterfuls of cooked rice (to eat) is sitting in the kitchen and weeping (at her approaching departure).

¹ *Baṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. XIII (for 1313 B.S.), pages 175-176.

9 and 10. Durga's paternal aunt, who has given her cupfuls of milk (to drink), is sitting in the cowhouse and weeping (at her approaching departure).

11 and 12. Durga's brother, who has given her lots of *sāris*, has covered up his eyes with his hands and is weeping (at her approaching departure).

13 and 14. Durga's sister, who has abused her (in the course of brawls), is sitting while holding the legs of the bedstead and weeping (at her approaching departure)."

The instruction given (in line 1 of the folk ballad No. XII) to Gauri to weep when she would go to her father-in-law's place, appears to be in accordance with a time-honored custom. The bride's weeping on this occasion is considered by anthropologists to be a survival of the widespread custom of marriage by capture. On the occasion of old-fashioned marriages in Wales, the bride is kept concealed or disguised when the bridegroom's people come to fetch her away. It is thought to be good form for her to pretend to offer great resistance to her going away from her paternal home, and to weep and wail aloud. This is a noteworthy characteristic of the marriage ceremonies performed in Eastern Europe. Among the Mordvins of Simbirsk (in Russia), the bride weeps and laments from two days before the marriage. The bridegroom and his people, led by his best man, have to pay a fee before they can enter her parent's house, and carry her away by force. She, in her turn, scratches and pinches them and catches hold of everything she finds near at hand, for the purpose of delaying her forcible carrying off. She, then, throws herself at the hoofs of her captor's horses and implores them not to carry her away.¹ Among the Russians, the betrothal ceremony comes off a week and a day before the date fixed for the marriage ceremony. *During this period, the bride must weep and wail*

¹ *The Hand book o Folklore*, by C. S. Burne, New Edition, London : Sodgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, pages 205-6.

and lament loudly at her approaching marriage and separation from her parents. This is stated to be one of the numerous customs which prove the consanguinity of the Russians and the Chinese. The ancient Jews also had a custom closely resembling the afore-mentioned one.¹

In Finland, formal weepings take place on the occasion of marriages. It is rather curious that there is not the slightest trace in these weepings of anything which can be said to express the bride's thanks to her parents or her great sorrow at her approaching departure from her parental home. The farewell weeping songs are wholly material. In these songs, the bride, first of all, asks for her parents' blessings and, thereafter, begins to demand all kinds of household articles as dowry for herself.²

In Finland, the bride's mother also weeps when her daughter is about to leave for her husband's home. This is called "the weeping *Runo of the Mother*" (*Vide* the illustration on page 1136 of Vol. II of Hutchinson's *Customs of the World*). After the marriage, all leave for the bridegroom's house. But the bride's mother refuses to go there, *takes her seat upon the chest and weeps*. The bridegroom's party have to bribe her for the purpose of inducing her to go there. Regarding this weeping of the bride's mother, it is said: "Something quite different was the mother's weeping song in reply which I heard. *While listening to that weeping song of the mother, many an eye appeared wet, for so bitterly did she lament holding her daughter to her bosom, the separation from her darling, who had been dearer to her than her own life.*"³

In line 21 of the folk song No. XII, it is stated that *Gauri's brothers, taking the playthings with them, wept at her departure*. We are inclined to think that this statement refers to the existence, in the olden times in Eastern Bengal,

¹ Milne's *Wooings and Weddings in Many Climes*, p. 244.

² Hutchinson's *Customs of the World*, Vol. II, p. 1136.

³ Hutchinson's *Customs of the World*, Vol. II, p. 1136.

of a custom, which has now ceased to exist, but according to which, in those far-off times, the bride used to take a ceremonious farewell of her dolls and playthings at the time of her departure for her husband's home. We are further of opinion that Gauri's brothers brought her playthings to the river-side in order that she might bid farewell to them. At least, this was the custom among the ancient Romans; and an analogous practice is prevalent even at the present day among the modern Japanese. In ancient Rome, the girl-bride took a ceremonious farewell of her dolls and playthings, and, on the day of her marriage, offered them up to the gods.¹

Among the modern Japanese, three days before the marriage of a girl, her parents burn her toys.²

The ancient Bengali custom of the bride's parents' taking money from the bridegroom as consideration for giving their daughter to the latter, is referred to in line 24 of this song. In it, Gauri's parents say: "We have taken the bride-price from your husband in the presence of the whole assembly of guests. How can we, then, keep you with us?"

This was also the custom in ancient Greece where wives used to be purchased from their fathers either by the bridegroom's presenting valuable gifts to his bride's father or by the former's agreeing to perform service under the latter for a prescribed period of time.³

For instance, among the Greeks of Homer's time, the bridegroom used to woo the bride by presenting rich gifts to her father. Iphidamas offered one hundred heifers and one thousand goats as a wedding-gift. [But this custom fell into utter disuse in later times when the bride's father had to furnish the dowry partly in cash, partly in clothes, jewellery and slaves.]⁴

¹ Milne's *Wooings and Weddings in Many Climes*, p. 80.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 330.

⁴ *The Life of the Greeks and Romans described from the Antique Monuments*, by E. Guhl and W. Koner. Translated from the Third German Edition by F. Hneffer, London: Chatto and Windus, 1882, pages 190-192.

Sometimes, in lieu of the payment of the bride-price, the prospective bridegroom has to perform some kind of service under his intended bride's father for a prescribed period of time.

For instance, we find it stated in the Old Testament that Jacob married his cousins Leah and Rachel, the daughters of his mother's brother Laban, and, must likely in lieu of the payment of the bride-price, had to serve his father-in-law as a shepherd and a goatherd for a period of seven years for each of his wives, thereby putting in service for a total period of fourteen years.

The custom of the suitor's serving his prospective father-in-law for a period of time is prevalent among the Gonds of Central India, the Kawars (a primitive hill-tribe inhabiting the Central Provinces of India), the Gondas of the Eastern Ghats in the Madras Presidency, and some of the Mongoloid tribes of North-Eastern India, such as the Kuki-Lushais, the Bodo group of tribes, the wild tribes inhabiting the Naga Hills, and the Mishmis.

It is prevalent in Burma and among the Hka Mukas, Hka Mets, and Hka Kwens who are the three forest tribes living on the borders of Burma.

It is prevalent in some parts of the Indian Archipelago ; as for instance, among the natives inhabiting the district of Lampong in the Southern extremity of Sumatra, among the Bare'e-speaking Toradjas of Central Celebes, and the natives of south-eastern Celebes, among the Tenggerer who dwell in a mountainous tract of country in the east of Java, among the Kayans or Bahaus of Central Borneo, and the natives of the island of Amboyna. It also formerly existed among the Tagales of the Philippine Islands.

This custom is practised by the Kamchadales of North-eastern Asia, as also by their neighbours—the Koryaks. It also prevails among two tribes of Siberia, namely, the Chukchees (who inhabit the north-eastern extremity of that country) and the Yukaghirs.

It is also prevalent among the Eskimos and the Indians of America.

This custom is also stated to exist among the Tshi-speaking people of the Gold Coast, the Boobies or Adeeyahs of Fernando Po, the Tumbuku of British Central Africa and the Banyais of the Lambesi river.¹

[Compare this with the custom referred to above, which exists among the Mordvins of Russia, of the giving by the bridegroom and his party of a fee to the bride's parents before entering the latter's house, as also with the Finnish custom, which has been mentioned *supra*, bribing the bride's mother for the purpose of inducing her to go with the bride to the bridegroom's house.]

(H) In the folk ballads Nos. IX, X, XII and XIII, Gauri is stated to be the Sun-god's bride. This is very curious. For, in the Vedas, there is no mention of the Sun-deity's having ever been married.²

We have already seen that, in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Saṁgnā and Chhāyā are mentioned as being his wives.

The lithic evidence also sets forth the fact that the Sun-god had five female attendants of whom two are represented in a stone image of Sūryya which is now in the museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rājshāhi. It is numbered

F(a)
242 in the official catalogue of that museum. "On each

side of the main image are the figures of one male and two females, the extreme small female figures being in the archers' posture shooting arrows from their bows representing Ushā and Pratyushā. Of the other figures, the male ones represent respectively Pingala and Danda and the female ones may be the representatives of two of the well-known female attendants

¹ *Folk Lore of the Old Testament*, by Sir J. G. Frazer, 3 Vols, London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1918, Vol. II, pages 342-371.

² Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 30-32.

*of the sun-god, viz., Rājñī, Suvarṇā, Subarchasā, Chhāyā, and Vikshubhā."*¹

The question, therefore, arises: Why has Gaurī, who is in Hindu mythology, the wife of Śiva, been stated in the foregoing folk songs to be the Sun-god's wife? The answer to this query is not far to seek. For we are inclined to think that, in these folk songs, the name of the wife of the well-known and popular deity Śiva has been assigned to the Sun-god's wife simply for the purpose of reviving by this means, the waning popularity of the cult of the solar deity.

It is well known that Sūryya or the Sun-god holds a very high place among the Nature-gods. The question, therefore, arises: Does his spouse Gaurī also represent a Nature-goddess?

In order to answer this question, we shall have to examine the mythology of the savages about the Sun-god. The savages look upon the Sun and the Moon as husband and wife. The Algonkin Indians of North America believe that the Moon is a woman and that her eclipse is caused by her holding her son in her arms, thereby preventing men from seeing the light of her face. They further believe that the Sun is her husband and that he is eclipsed because he holds their son just in front of himself. Among the ancient Peruvians, the Sun was named Yuti and the Moon Quilla, and that they were brother and sister—father and mother of the Incas.² We are, therefore, inclined to infer that Gaurī may represent the Moon. It is for this reason that, in line 8 of the folk song No. X, she is called Chandramukhī or "the Moon-faced one."

¹ *A Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rājshāhi*. Published by the Varendra Research Society, Rājshāhi, 1919, p. 23.

² In *Introduction to Folk Lore*, by M. R. Cox, London, David Nutt, 1897, page

SECTION V.

APPENDIX.

Devanāgri Texts.

सूर्येर रूपवर्णना ओ उदय-दृश्य ।

सूर्य ओठे कोन् कोन् वर्ण ।

सूर्य ओठे आगुन-वर्ण ॥

सूर्य ओठे कोन् कोन् वर्ण ।

सूर्य ओठे रक्त-वर्ण ॥

सूर्य ओठे कोन् कोन् वर्ण ।

सूर्य ओठे ताम्बूल-वर्ण ॥

ओठ सूर्य उदय दिया ।

वाओनेर घरेर कोण कुंइया ॥

वाओनेर माइया वड़ सेयान ।

सूर्याइर पैता जोगाय वेयान वेयान ॥

ओठ सूर्य उदय दिया ।

कांसारीर घरेर कोण कुंइया ॥

कांसारीर माइया वड़ सेयान ।

पूजार साज जोगाय वेयान वेयान ॥

ओठ सूर्य उदय दिया ।

मालीर घरेर कोण कुंइया ॥

मालीर माइया वड़ सेयान ।

पुष्प जोगाय वेयान वेयान ॥

ओठ सूर्य उदय दिया ।

मुनिर घरेर कोण कुंइया ॥

मुनिर माइया वड़ सेयान ।

सन्ध्या-पूजा जोगाय वेयान वेयान ॥

ओठ सूर्य उदय दिया ।

तेलीर घरेर कोण कुंइया ॥

तेलीर माझ्या वडू रागी ।
 खाडा रागी ढाले पानी ॥
 ढाल ढाल सुख-पाखलानी ।
 ता दिया सूर्यादर सुख-पाखलानी ॥

TRANSLATION I.

Description of the Sun-God's Beauty and of the Scene at (the time of) His Rising.

1. "What colours are assumed by the Sun-god at (the time of) his rising?"

2. "The Sun-god assumes a flame-colour at (the time of) his rising."

3. "What colours are assumed by the Sun-god at (the time of) his rising?"

4. "The Sun-god assumes a blood-red colour at (the time of) his rising."

5. "What colours are assumed by the Sun-god at (the time of) his rising?"

6. "The Sun-god assumes a (green) colour (like that) of the betel-leaf at (the time of) his rising."

7 and 8. "O Sun-god! rise in the east (*lit.* the place of rising), (and) shine upon (*lit.*, touch) the corner of (the thatch of) the Brāhmaṇa's hut (*lit.*, house)."

9 and 10. "The Brāhmaṇa's mother is (a) very clever (lady and) supplies the Sun-god, every morning, with the sacred Brāhmaṇical thread (for his wearing)."

11 and 12. "O Sun-god! rise in the east (*lit.*, place of rising), (and) shine upon (*lit.*, touch) the corner of (the thatch of) the hut of the manufacturer of bell-metal utensils."

13 and 14. "The mother of the manufacturer of bell-metal utensils is (a) very clever (woman), (and) supplies (the Sun-god), every morning, with the paraphernalia (for the performance) of worship."

15 and 16. "O Sun-god! rise in the east (*lit.*, place of rising), (and) shine upon (*lit.*, touch) the corner of (the thatch of) the florist's hut (*lit.*, house)."

17 and 18. "The florist's mother is (a) very clever (woman), (and) supplies (the Sun-god), every morning, with flowers."

19 and 20. "O Sun-god! rise in the east (*lit.*, place of rising), (and) shine upon (*lit.*, touch) the corner of (the thatch of) the Sage's hut (*lit.*, house)."

21 and 22. "The Sage's mother is (a) very clever (lady) (and) supplies (the Sun-god), every morning, with (the paraphernalia for the performance of) the evening-worship."

23 and 24. "O Sun-god! rise in the east (*lit.*, place of rising), (and) shine upon (*lit.*, touch) the corner of (the thatch of) the oil-presser's hut (*lit.*, house)."

25 and 26. "The oil-presser's mother is (a) very short-tempered (woman), (and), when the angry mood is on her, takes her stand (upon a high place), (and) pours down water (in order to give vent to her anger)."

27 and 28. "(O oil-presser's mother!) pour, pour out the water for washing the mouth with, (so that), with the same (water), the Sun-god may wash (his) mouth."

सूर्येर निद्रा-भङ्ग ।

उत्तर आला कदम गाछटी दक्षिण आला बाघोरि ।

गा तोल गा तोल सूर्याइ डाके तोमार माघोरि ॥

शियरे चबनेर वाटी बुके छिटा पड़ेरे ।

गा तोल गा तोल सूर्याइ डाके तोमार माघोरि ॥

कांस बाजे करताल बाजे तबु सूर्याइर डुम नाहि भाङ्गेरे ।

गा तोल गा तोल सूर्याइ डाके तोमार माघोरि ॥

TRANSLATION II.

The Sun-god's Awakening from Sleeps.

1. "O Kadam-tree (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*) which grows to the north ! go to the south."

2. "O Sun-god ! rise from the bed (*lit.*, raise the body). Thy mother is calling (thee)."

3. "There is a bowl containing sandal-wood paste near (thy) head ; (and drops of sandal-wood paste) are getting sprinkled upon (thy) breast."

4. "O Sun-god ! rise from the bed (*lit.*, raise the body); rise from the bed (raise the body). Thy mother is calling (thee)."

5. "(Though) the gong is being struck, (though) the cymbals are being sounded, still the sleep of the Sun-god is not getting broken."

6. "O Sun-god ! rise from the bed (*lit.*, raise the body); rise from the bed (*lit.*, raise the body). Thy mother is calling (thee)."

सूर्येर स्नान ।

सोणार वाटी भागर चन्नन रूपार वाटी तैलरे ।

स्नान कर छाप्रोयाल सूर्याइरे ॥

दुग्धेर पुष्कर्णी सूर्याइ नुइजा दाप्रो डवरे ।

स्नान कर छाप्रोयाल सूर्याइरे ॥

कागे निल तैलेर वाटी मामका निल सोतेरे ।

स्नान कर छाप्रोयाल सूर्याइरे ॥

एक डवे उठरे सूर्याइ येन धुत्तार पुलरे ।

स्नान कर छाप्रोयाल सूर्याइरे ॥

TRANSLATION III.

Description of the Sun-God's Bathing.

1 and 2. "O boy Sun-god, there is a golden bowl containing agallochum (and) sandal-wood paste. There is a silver bowl containing oil. (Anoint thyself with the oil and) bathe. (Then anoint thyself with agallochum and sandal-wood paste)."

3 and 4. "O boy Sun-god ! bathe. O Sun-god ! stoop down (and) take a dip in tank (which is full) of milk."

5 and 6. "O boy Sun-god ! bathe. (But, the crow flew away with the bowl of oil ; (and) the napkin was carried off by the stream."

7 and 8. "O boy Sun-god ! bathe (Accordingly, the Sun-god bathed). After taking a dip (in the tank), the Sun-god rose out (of the water) (and looked as beautiful as) a flower of the *dhutura*-plant (*Datura stramonium*)."

सूर्येर धुति-गामछा ।

ज्ञान कक्षा छात्रोयाल सूर्याइ धुति-गामछा कोथा पाइलारे ।
 स्वर्गे आछि तांतोर छात्रोयाल सूर्याइर धुति-गामछा जोगाय से ओरे ॥
 ज्ञान कक्षा छात्रोयाल सूर्याइ तुमि सभ्या पाइला कोथायरे ।
 स्वर्गे आछि मुनिर छेले सूर्याइर सभ्या जोगाय से ओरे ॥
 ज्ञान कक्षा छात्रोयाल सूर्याइरे ॥

TRANSLATION IV.

(The story about) the Sun-God's Dhoti and Napkin.

1. "The boy Sun-god bathed. But where did (he) get (his) *dhoti* (and) napkin from ?"

2. "A weaver's son lives in heaven. It is he who supplied the Sun-god with (his) *dhoti* (and) napkin."

3. “The boy Sun-god bathed. But where did he (*lit.*, you) get (the paraphernalia for) the evening-worship?”

4. “A sage’s son lives in heaven. It is he who supplied the Sun-god with (the paraphernalia for) the evening-worship.”

5. “O! the boy Sun-god bathed.”

सूर्य्यैर पूजा ।

पूजा लभ्योरे सूर्य्याइ पूजा लभ्यो ॥३॥
 मणे मणे चाउल हैले पूजाय वइते पारि ।
 छड़ाभरा कला हैले पूजाय वइते पारि ॥
 सेरभरा धूप हैले पूजाय वइते पारि ।
 साजिभरा पुष्प हैले पूजाय वइते पारि ॥
 डान धारे फुलेर साजि वांभो धारे रचना ।
 पुरैत ठाकुर करे पूजा करिया कामना ॥
 कला काड़ि कुचि कुचि नविद्य वाड़ि सारि ।
 रचना वसाइते आइला ब्राह्मणेरि नारी ॥
 घटेर आड़े वइया सूर्य्याइ नुइजा नुइजा चाय ।
 खेत धूपेर गन्धे सूर्य्याइ पूजा खाइते वय ॥
 पूजा खाइया छाओयाल सूर्य्याइ जलपान कला कि ।
 हाल्या वाड़ीर दुग्ध-दधि गोयाल वाड़ीर घि ॥
 पूजा खाइया छाओयाल सूर्य्याइ चतुर्दिके चाय ।
 जलपान कला छाओयाल सूर्य्याइ सुखशुद्ध कला कि ।
 वारे वाड़ीर पान सुपारि गाछेर हरतकी ॥

TRANSLATION V.

The Worship of the Sun-God.

1. “(The worshippers of the Sun-god say): ‘O Sun-god ! receive worship (from us); receive worship (from us)’.”

2, 3, 4 and 5. “(The Sun-god replies) : ‘(If you offer me) *maunds* (and) *maunds* of unboiled rice, (I) may sit down to receive worship (from you). (If you offer me) a whole bunch of (ripe) plantains, (I) may sit down to receive worship (from you). (If you offer me) one *seer* of incense, (I) may sit down to receive worship (from you). (If you offer me), a basketful of flowers, (I) may sit down to receive worship (from you).’”

6. “(Accordingly, the worshippers placed), on the right side (of the place of worship), a basketful of flowers, (and), on the left side (thereof), an earthen pot full of flattened rice, fried paddy, and various other articles of food.”

7. “The officiating priest conducts the worship (of the Sun-god), (and) prays for boons.”

8 and 9. “A Brāhmaṇa lady came, cut the (ripe) plantains into bits, (and) arranged in rows the receptacles containing the food-offerings (to the Sun-god).”

10 and 11. “The Sun-god sat behind the earthen pitcher (which represented him at the worship), cast furtive glances (at the *pūjā*-offerings), (and), (being delighted) with the fragrant fumes of the white incense, came forward (*lit.*, sat down) to partake of the *pūjā*-offerings.”

12. “(The worshippers ask) : ‘Having received (*lit.*, partaken of) the worship, what did the boy Sun-god eat?’”

13. “(They receive the following reply) : ‘(The Sun-god partook of) the fresh and curdled milk (obtained) from the agriculturists’ dairies (*lit.*, houses), (and) the clarified butter (obtained) from the milkmen’s dairies (*lit.*, houses).’”

14. “Having received the worship (from his worshippers), the boy Sun-god looked all around (him).”

15. “(The worshippers further ask) : ‘After having partaken of the food-offerings, what masticatories did the boy Sun-god chew (*lit.*, what did he purify his mouth with)?’”

16. “(They receive the following reply) : ‘(The Sun-god chewed) the betel-leaves (and) areca-nuts (obtained) from

the shop (*lit.*, house) of the dealer in betel-leaves, (and also) the black myrobolams (obtained) from the trees (*Terminalia chebula*) (in the neighbouring gardens).’ ”

सूर्येर यात्रा ओ पार ।

आरे ओ पाटनी मोरे पार कररे ॥ध्रु॥
 सूर्याइ ठाकुर यात्रा करे संझे सोणार घटि ।
 चारिदिके लोक-लस्कर मध्ये नाचे हरि ॥
 शिवाइ ठाकुर यात्रा कळे दुइ काणे धुतुरा ।
 षोल शत गोपिनी लये चलिछे मथुरा ॥
 गाङ्गेर कूले गया सूर्याइ डाके घन घन ।
 कै गेला पाटनी विशाइ खेओयार कड़ि गण ॥
 श्रीफल गाछेर नौकाखानि मध्ये जाड़ गुड़ा ।
 सूर्याइ ठाकुर वैछेन येन पर्वतेरि चूड़ा ॥
 चन्नन गाछेर नौकाखानि आगा पाछा टान ।
 सूर्याइ ठाकुर वैछेन येन पूर्णिमारि चांद ॥
 मध्य गाङ्गे नियारे विशाइ नाओ करिल काइत् ।
 बुभिलाम बुभिलाम विशाइ दुपुछा डाकात् ॥
 नौका हइते सूर्याइ ठाकुर कूले दिल पारा ।
 आचम्विते पाइल विशाइ सुवर्णेर भरा ॥
 पार इहया सूर्याइ ठाकुर चारिदिके चाय ।
 ये दिक् शोने सूर्याइ-मङ्गल सेइ दिक् चल्या याय ॥
 सूर्याइ आइल शिवाइ आइल पड़्या गेल साड़ा ।
 केह वाजाय ढोल डागर केह वाजाय काड़ा ॥
 सुइ यदि जानिताक सूर्याइ आसवेन आमार वाड़ी ।
 चन्ननेर छड़ा-भाइर दिताम सकल वाड़ी ॥
 सूर्याइ आइल शिवाइ आइल पड़्या गेल साड़ा ।
 सायवाना वानाइया तारा रैल कदमतला ॥

TRANSLATION VI.

The Sun-God's Journey and Crossing of the river.

1. "O boatman! row me across the river."

2. "The Sun-god is starting on (his) journey (and holds) a golden pot before him."

3. "There are (the Sun-god's) men and followers on all sides. In the midst of them, Hari (*i.e.*, the Sun-god) is dancing."

4 and 5. "The god Śiva (*i.e.*, the Sun-god), adorned with flowers of the *dhutura*-plant (*Datura stramonium*) in (his) two ears, has started on his journey, (and), accompanied by sixteen hundred milk-maids, is going to Mathurā."

6. "Reaching the bank of the river, the Sun-god called out repeatedly (to the boatman, asking the latter to row him and his companions across the river)."

7. "The boatman Biśāi (or Viśvakarmā) replied: 'Pay (me) the hire for rowing you all across the river.'"

8 and 9. "The Sun-god sat, like a mountain-peak, in the boat which is made of the wood of the *bael*-tree (*Egle-marmelos*) and the deck of which is supported on two cross beams."

10 and 11. "The Sun-god sat, like the full moon, in the boat which is made of sandal-wood from fore to aft."

12. "When he reached the middle of the river (the boatman) Biśāi caused the boat to heel over on one side."

13. "(Thereupon the Sun-god exclaimed): 'I (now) understand fully that (the boatman) Biśāi is a daring robber (*lit.*, a *dacoit* who commits *dacoity* by mid-day).'"

14. "(Saying this), the Sun-god left the boat (and) stepped on to the river-bank."

15. "(Just at this time), (the boatman) Biśāi, all of a sudden, found a goodly quantity of gold (which was the boat-hire due to him)."

16 and 17. "Having reached the river-bank (*lit.*, having crossed the river), the Sun-god looked all round him and

went in the direction in which he heard that hymns in his own praise were being chanted."

18 and 19. "When the Sun-god (*lit.*, the god Siva) arrived (there), there was a great commotion (all over the country-side). Some (of the country people) played upon tom-toms and drums; (and) some (of them) played upon kettle-drums (in order to express their feelings of joy at the Sun-god's arrival among them)."

20 and 21. "(Some of the country people said): 'If we had known (from before) that the Sun-god would come to our country (*lit.*, houses), (we) would have sprinkled sandal-wood paste upon every (*lit.*, all) house (therein).'"

22. "When the Sun-god (*lit.*, the god Siva) arrived (there) there was a great commotion (all over the country side)."

23. "Having rigged up an awning underneath a *Kadam-tree* (*Anthocephalus cadamba*), the Sun-god and his companions (*lit.*, they) stayed (there)."

सूर्ये र विवाहेच्छा ।

ओपारः दुइटी वाओनेर कन्या मेल्हा दिछे साड़ि ।

ताहा देख्या सूर्याइ ठाकुर फेरन वाड़ी वाड़ी ॥

ओगो सूर्याइर मा ।

तोमार सूर्याइ डाङ्गर हैछे विया कराओ ना ॥

ओपार दुइटी वाओनेर कन्या मेल्हा दिछे केस ।

ताहा देख्या सूर्याइ ठाकुर फेरन नाना देश ॥

ओगो सूर्याइर मा ।

तोमार सूर्याइ डाङ्गर हैछे विया कराओ ना ॥

ओपार दुइटी वाओनेर कन्या मल खाइया पाय ।

ताहा देख्या सूर्याइ ठाकुर विया करते चाय ॥

ओगो सूर्याइर मा ।

तोमार सूर्याइ डाङ्गर हैछे विया कराओ ना ॥

TRANSLATION VII.

(The Story about) the Sun-God's Desire to get Married.

1 and 2. "Seeing that, on the other bank (of the river), two Brāhmaṇa girls were spreading out (their *sāris* to dry in the sun), the Sun-god (felt a desire to marry and) went about from house to house (in quest of a bride)."

3 and 4. "(Addressing the Sun-god's mother, his worshippers say): 'O Sun-god's mother! your (son)—the Sun-god—has attained to puberty (*lit.*, has become big enough). (You) should (therefore), get (him) married.'"

5 and 6. "Seeing that, on the other bank (of the river), two Brāhmaṇa girls were sunning (their) hair (*lit.*, spreading out their hair), the Sun-god (felt a desire to marry and) went about from one country to another country (in quest of a bride)."

7 and 8. "(Addressing the Sun-god's mother, his worshippers say): 'O Sun-god's mother! your (son)—the Sun-god—has attained to puberty (*lit.*, has become big enough). (You) should, (therefore), get (him) married.'"

9 and 10. "Seeing that, on the other bank (of the river), two Brāhmaṇa girls (were going about) with anklets on (their) feet, the Sun-god expressed a desire to marry."

11 and 12. "(Addressing the Sun-god's mother, his worshippers say): 'O Sun-god's mother! your (son)—the Sun-god—has attained to puberty (*lit.*, has become big enough). (You) should, (therefore), get (him) married.'"

घटकेर आगमन ।

घटक चलिल ओ चलिलरे घटक-चूड़ामणि ॥३॥

कोथा लिका आइछिरे घटक कि नाम तोमार ।

स्वर्गे लिका आइछिरे आमि मच्चे दिया पाओ ॥

सूर्याइरओ ये विया रे इइवे राजाशुक्लवार ।

कि देखिला कि ओरे शोन्ला घटक रे मशाय ॥

हात देखलाम पाओ देखलाम देखलाम दीघल चुल ।
प्रदीपेर रोसनाइते देखलाम वधूर चन्द्रमुख ॥

TRANSLATION VIII.

(The Story about) the Go-between's Arrival (with Information about the Would-be Bride).

1. "The head of the go-betweens (who negotiate the preliminaries of marriage), went (in quest of a suitable bride)."

2. "(The would-be bride's people ask): 'O go-between! where have (you) come from? What's your name?'"

3. "And (the go-between replies): '(I) have come from heaven to this earth [*lit.*, (and) placed (my) feet upon the earth] (in quest of a suitable bride), (as) the Sun-god's marriage will take place on the ensuing Friday.'"

5. "(When the go-between returned after seeing the bride, the Sun-god's mother asks him): 'O Sir go-between! what have (you) seen? What have (you) heard?'"

6 and 7. "(The go-between replies): '(O Sun-god's mother!) (I) have seen (the bride's) hands, (I) have seen (the bride's) feet, (I) have seen (the bride's) long hair, (I) have (also) seen, by lamp-light, the bride's moon-like face.'"

सूर्य ओ गौरैर विवाह-सज्जा क्रय ।

सुन्दर बाणियार छाओयाल नगर दिया याय ।

सूर्याइ-गौरार वियार चन्नन केने गौरार माय ॥

सुन्दर मालियार छाओयाल नगर दिया याय ।

सूर्याइ-गौरार वियार मुकुट केने गौरार माय ॥

सुन्दर तांतियार छाओयाल नगर दिया याय ।

सूर्याइ-गौरार वियार कापड़ केने गौरार माय ॥

गौराइर विया तोरा देख्या या वेड़िया घुरिया ॥ध्रु॥

आसिते शिखाइल माय ।

गौराइ प्रणाम करवा जामाइर पाय ॥

TRANSLATION IX.

An Account of the Purchase of the Articles Required for the Sun-God's Marriage with Gauri.

1. "A handsome-looking *Baniya's* son is going through the town."
2. "Gauri's mother is purchasing sandal-wood for the marriage of the Sun-god with Gauri."
3. "A handsome-looking *Baniya's* son is going through the town."
4. "Gauri's mother is purchasing the crown for the marriage of the Sun-god with Gauri."
5. "A handsome-looking *weaver's* son is going through the town."
6. "Gauri's mother is purchasing the cloth for the marriage of the Sun-god with Gauri."
- 7 and 8. "(Gauri's) mother has invited (*lit.*, instructed) all (sorts and conditions of people) to come, walk about, and see Gauri's marriage."
9. "Gauri should make obeisance at the feet of her husband (the Sun-god)."

सूर्येर विवाह ।

आम्रफले योका योका तितैल फले वेका वेका ।
 छात्रोयाल सूर्याइ विया करेन मा'र भोला टाका टाका ॥
 खाडो खाडो नाइरकोल गाछटी पिर छाइया फले ।
 छात्रोयाल सूर्याइ विया करेन छतेर प्रदीप ज्वले ॥
 खाडो खाडो कला गाछटी वाइया पडे मौ ।
 छात्रोयाल सूर्याइ विया करेन वड सुन्दर वौ ॥
 सखी चल गिया मोरा देखि ।
 छात्रोयाल सूर्याइ विया करेन नामे चन्द्रसुखी ॥
 छात्रोयाल सूर्याइर घरेर छांइचे रामकलार पात ।
 ताहाते रांधिया दिसु दारा कूटार भात ॥

सखि चल गिया मोरा देखि ।

छाप्पोयाल सूर्याइ विया करेन नामे चन्द्रमुखी ॥

TRANSLATION X.

A Description of the Sun-God's Marriage.

1. "The mango-tree bears clusters of fruits. The tamarind-tree bears the curved pads of tamarind."

2. "The boy Sun-god is marrying for the sake of the dowry which is being given by Gauri's mother in the shape of bagfuls of coins."

3. "A small cocoanut-tree bears bunches of cocoanuts."

4. "(While) the Sun-god is marrying, a lamp fed with clarified butter is burning."

5. "A small plantain-tree bears a bunch of sweet plantains (*lit.*, is flowing with honey)."

6. "The boy Sun-god is marrying a very beautiful bride."

7 and 8. "O lady-friends! let us go and see the boy Sun-god's marriage with the bride whose name is Chandra-mukhi (*i.e.*, 'the Moon-faced one')."

9 and 10. "(I) shall ceremonially cook the rice, which cooked rice is known by the name of *Dārākuṭār Bhāt*¹ (and serve the same) upon a leaf of the plantain-tree (of the variety called *Rāmakālā*) which is growing under the eaves of the boy Sun-god's house."

11 and 12. "O lady-friends! let us go and see the boy Sun-god's marriage with the bride whose name is Chandra-mukhi (*i.e.*, 'the Moon-faced one')."

सूर्यो र श्वशुर-वाड़ी याचार उद्योग ओ श्वशुर-गृहे
आचरण सम्बन्धे ताहार प्रति उपदेश ।

आनन्देर आर सीमा नाइगो आनन्द ॥३॥

¹ The *Dārākuṭār Bhāt* is the rice which is ceremonially cooked with clarified butter by one of the ladies of the bridegroom's family. It is cooked in an earthen pot placed upon three pieces of wood with fuel made of straw,

सूर्याङ्ग यावेन श्वशुर-वाङ्गी सङ्गे याङ्गवेन के ।
 सङ्गे याङ्गवे सूर्याङ्ग वापे साजते लाग्ये से ॥
 मामार भाङ्गनार हाल वाय वामे ठेव्या याङ्गभो ।
 शालीरा ये पान दिवे कापडे सुव्या खाङ्गभो ॥
 शाङ्गुङ्गी रेंधेछे दारा भाले आर भोले ।
 शाला-वी पशेन दारा सुवर्णेरि थाले ॥

TRANSLATION XI.

A Description of the Preparations made by the Sun-God for going to His Father-in-law's Place and of the Instructions given to Him for His Behaviour at that Place.

1, 2 and 3. "There is no end of joy, (as) the Sun-god will visit his father-in-law's place. (But) who will accompany (him)? His father, who has begun to dress himself (for this purpose), will accompany (him)."

4, 5, 6 and 7. "(O Sun-god ! if you see on the way) a maternal uncle, accompanied by his sister's son, ploughing a field, (you) should keep them on (your) left (as the omen is very auspicious), (and then) proceed (on your journey). You should, first of all, wipe with a cloth the prepared betel-leaves which will be offered (to you) by (your) wife's sisters (and then) eat the same. (Your) mother-in-law has cooked rice in clarified butter, (as also) fish seasoned with chillis, and fish-bouillon. (Your) wife's brother's wife will serve up this rice (and the curries) upon a golden dish. (You should, therefore, do ample justice to these viands)."

गौरीर श्वशुर-वाङ्गी गमन ।

आज या गौरी कांथा-काव्या !
 काङ्गल आङ्गस् गौरी हाङ्गा-रङ्गा ॥

गौरीर माय कांदे-काटे॥
 हजार टाका गाइते बांदे ॥
 ओ गौरी ना गया ।
 पान्ता भात खा गया ॥
 पान्ता भात शला शला ।
 पुडि माछ चला चला ॥
 आम गाछे थाकलो कोकिला चन्नन गाछे वासा ।
 आलो आमार गौरी नितेलो कोकिला मने कर आशा ॥
 कोन खान दिया आइलरे अतिथ आमि वाइर बाड़ी निलाम वासा ।
 से ना अतिथेर मने गौरी नेवार आशा ॥
 आठ वार वछरेर गौरी तेर नयरे पड़े ।
 घुरिया घुरिया बाछा मायेर अचल धरे ॥
 टाका नयरे कड़ि नयरे कोठरे राखिव ।
 परेर लग्या हैछे गौरी परेरे से दिव ॥
 अर्जेक गाङ्गे भङ्ग वृष्टि अर्जेक गाङ्गे कूया ।
 मध्य गाङ्गे वाय वाजे गौरी लवार लइजा ॥
 आइशी कांदे पड़शी कांदे कांदे रइया रइया ।
 गौरीर जनके कांदे गामछा मुड़ि दिया ॥
 गौरीर ये भाइ कांदे खेलार साजि लइया ।
 गौरीर ये माये कांदे शाने पाछार खाइया ॥
 माओ धन वाप धन तोमरा नि राख्वा मोरे ।
 सभार मध्ये लइछि टाका केमने राख्वा तोरे ॥
 उत्तर आटेर रामकला काव्या आन पात ।
 ताहाते खाइवे गौरी नाइओरेरि भात ॥
 भाङ्गा नाओ मादारेर वैठा ढलके ओठे पानी ।
 धीरे धीरे वाओरे माभि-भाइ मायेर कांदन शुनि ॥
 भाङ्गा नाओ मादारेर वैठा ढलके ओठे पानी ।
 धीरे धीरे वाओरे माभि-भाइ भाइयेर कांदन शुनि ॥
 भाङ्गा नाओ मादारेर वैठा ढलके ओठे पानी ।
 धीरे धीरे वाओरे माभि-भाइ वुइनेर कांदन शुनि ॥

TRANSLATION XII.

Gauri's Visit to Her Father-in-Law's Place.

1 and 2. “(Addressing Gaurī, her mother says:) ‘O Gaurī! to-day go weeping (to your father-in-law’s place). O Gaurī! to-morrow come laughing (from your father-in-law’s place).’ ”

3 and 4. “(While) Gaurī’s mother is weeping, she tied up, in the hem of her *sāri*, one thousand coins (which she has received as bride-price from the Sun-god).”

5, 6, 7 and 8. “(Addressing Gaurī, her mother again says:) ‘O Gaurī! go, bathe and take stale rice (which has been steeped overnight in water and has, therefore, become insipid and coarse), as also cooked *punti*-fish which has become hard and flaky.’ ”

9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16. “(Addressing a female Cuckoo-bird, Gaurī’s mother says:) ‘O female Cuckoo who, leaving a mango-tree, has built (her) nest in a sandal wood-tree! people from the Sun-god’s place have come to fetch away my (child) Gaurī. I do not know by what way the aforementioned people (*lit.*, guests), have come. (I have, however,) accommodated (them) in the outer apartments of my house. These people (*lit.*, guests) have come for the purpose of fetching away Gaurī. Gaurī is barely twelve years old and has not yet reached her thirteenth year. She is still so young that she cannot live without me (*lit.*, the darling walks about and about and clings to the hem of her mother’s *sāri*). (She is) neither like coins nor cowry-shells that (I) shall keep (her hidden) in receptacles. Gaurī is born to be another man’s wife; (and accordingly, I) have given her away in marriage to that man.’ ”

17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22. “(When the boat conveying Gaurī and her escort crossed) half of the river, they were overtaken by a rain-storm; and the whole atmosphere was made hazy by a mist. (When they reached) the middle of

the river, musical instruments were played upon (to announce Gauri's visit to her father-in-law's place). The neighbours wept (at Gauri's departure). Covering himself up with a napkin, Gauri's father wept (at her departure). Taking the playthings (with them), Gauri's brother wept (at her departure). Gauri's mother threw herself down upon the pavement (and) wept (at her departure)."

23. "(Thereupon, addressing her parents, Gauri asks:) 'O (my) dear father! O (my) dear mother! do you want to keep me (with you)?'"

24. "(Gauri's parents reply :) '(We) have taken the bride-price (from your husband) in the presence of the whole assembly of guests. How can (we, then) keep you (with us)?'"

25 and 26. "(Then, addressing her servant, Gauri's mother says:) 'Go out and fetch a leaf of the plantain-tree (of the *Rāmakalā* variety) which is growing at (the place named) Uttara Hāt, (as I want to serve up), on that leaf, the ceremonially-cooked rice called "*Nāioreri Bhāt*"¹ for Gauri to eat.'"

27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32. "(Thereafter, addressing the boat-man, Gauri says:) 'The boat is rickety; the seats (thereof) are made of the wood of the *mādār*-tree; (and) the water is pouring into it (through the leaks thereof). O brother boatman! row the boat slowly (so that I) may listen to (my) mother's wailing.'"

"The boat is rickety; the seats (thereof) are made of the wood of the *mādār*-tree; (and) the water is pouring into it (through the leaks thereof). O brother boatman! row the boat slowly (so that I) may listen to (my) brothers' wailing."

"The boat is rickety; the seats (thereof) are made of the wood of the *mādār*-tree; (and) the water is pouring into it (through the leaks thereof). O brother boatman! row the boat slowly (so that I) may listen to (my) sisters' wailing."

¹ The cooked rice (i.e., the meal), which is eaten by women at their kinsmen's places, is called the "*Nāioreri Bhāt*."

गौरीर अभाव-मोचने सूर्येर सङ्कल्प ।

(उत्तर-प्रत्युत्तर)

तोमार देशे यामुरे सूर्याइ आमि कापडं दुःख पासु ।
 नगरे नगरे आमि तांतिया वसासु ॥
 तोमार देशे यामुरे सूर्याइ आमि शङ्खेर दुःख पासु ।
 नगरे नगरे आमि शांखारौ वसासु ॥
 तोमार देशे यामुरे सूर्याइ आमि सिन्दूरेर दुःख पासु ।
 नगरे नगरे आमि वाणिया वसासु ॥
 तोमार देशे यामुरे सूर्याइ आमि तेलेर दुःख पासु ।
 नगरे नगरे आमि तेलिया वसासु ॥
 तोमार देशे यामुरे सूर्याइ आमि चाउलेर दुःख पासु ।
 नगरे नगरे आमि हालिया वसासु ॥
 तोमार देशे यामुरे सूर्याइ आमि मा वलिमु कारे ।
 आमार ये मा आछे मा वलिवा तारे ॥
 तोमार देशे यामुरे सूर्याइ आमि वाप वलिमु कारे ।
 आमार ये वाप आछे वाप वलिवा तारे ॥
 तोमार देशे यामुरे सूर्याइ आमि भाइ वलिमु कारे ।
 आमार ये भाइ आछे भाइ वलिवा तारे ।
 तोमार देशे यामुरे सूर्याइ आमि बुइन वलिमु कारे ।
 आमार ये बुइन आछे बुइन वलिवा तारे ॥

TRANSLATION XIII.

The Sun-God's resolve to supply Gauri's wants.

[The Sun-God's resolves and Gauri's replies thereto.]

1. (Gauri says :) "O Sun-god ! I shall go to your country.
 (But I) shall feel the want of *sāris* (*lit.*, cloth)."

2. (The Sun-god replies :) "(O Gauri) ! I shall cause
 weavers to open shops (*lit.*, to settle) in every town. (They
 will supply you with *sāries*)."

3. (Gauri says :) "O Sun-god ! I shall go to your
 country. (But I) shall feel the want of shell-bracelets."

4. (The Sun-god replies :) “(O Gaurī!) I shall cause makers of shell-bracelets to open shops in every town. (They will supply you with shell-bracelets).”

5. (Gaurī says :) “O Sun-god! I shall go to your country. (But I) shall feel the want of vermilion (to streak the parting of my hair with).”

6. (The Sun-god replies :) “(O Gaurī!) I shall cause sellers of vermilion (*lit.*, tradesmen) to open shops in every town. (They will supply you with vermilion).”

7. (Gaurī says :) “O Sun-god! I shall go to your country. (But I) shall feel the want of oil.”

8. (The Sun-god replies :) “(O Gaurī!) I shall cause oil-vendors to open shops in every town. (They will supply you with oil).”

9. (Gaurī says :) “O Sun-god! I shall go to your country. (But I) shall feel the want of rice.”

10. (The Sun-god replies :) “(O Gaurī!) I shall cause agriculturists to open shops in every town. (They will supply you with rice).”

11. (Gaurī asks :) “O Sun-god! I shall go to your country. (But) whom shall (I) call (my) mother?”

12. (The Sun-god replies :) “(O Gaurī!) (you) should call my mother as (your) mother.”

13. (Gaurī asks :) “O Sun-god! I shall go to your country. (But) whom shall (I) call (my) father?”

14. (The Sun-god replies :) “(O Gaurī!) (you) should call my father as (your) father.”

15. (Gaurī asks :) “O Sun-god! I shall go to your country. (But) whom shall (I) call (my) brother?”

16. (The Sun-god replies :) “(O Gaurī!) (you) should call my brother as (your) brother.”

17. (Gaurī asks :) “O Sun-god! I shall go to your country. (But) whom shall (I) call (my) sister?”

18. (The Sun-god replies :) “(O Gaurī!) (you) should call my sister as (your) sister.”

SOME BULL AND BOAR FIGHTS FROM INDIA.*

BY

KSHITISH CHANDRA SARKAR.

It is with great interest that we read the Anthropological works of Savants dealing with the study of Phenomenal development and similarity of certain customs and traditions, prevalent in India with those of other countries of the world in the ages gone by. It is not that the study of customs and rituals of India would give us no food for thought, nay even a speculative interest in the minds of any ordinary thinking people.

In the year 1921 while I was in Bihar, some time in October or so in the district of Manbhum on the day following the Dewali, I came to notice that a certain section of the community styling itself as Kurmi Māhātos mainly agriculturists and cowherds had arranged a piece of enclosure for exciting the number of bulls within it by a determined throw and to take off the hide moulded into the shape of an animal on introducing a lot of straw within its hold. When the bulls were sufficiently excited they were taken away by their individual owner from the enclosure to be smeared with oil and red-ochre on the horns and taken home. Beating of drums is kept up to heighten the effects of excitements in the tendencies of the animals.

The above affair made me more circumspect to watch a hitherto neglected incident in some other districts in Bihar. Here however instead of the above contrivance of presenting a stuffed hide, a living boar of a good size and good height is

set on against the number of bulls within the enclosure. The bull that is able to strike down the boar is considered as the prize and worshipped by the owner after the manner indicated in the customs of Manbhum district. This custom prevails amongst the Māhāto section, Bāori and Bagdi classes generally in the Manbhum and Goalas or milkman class in other districts of Bihar who observe the function on the same particular day of the year.

In Bengal again in the district of Rajshahi the same spirit of the custom prevalent in Bihar, the bull that puts the boar to rout and strikes it dead is highly appreciated, as its owner is made-elect the headman of the whole community to safeguard its whole interest in relation to society, administration, religious solutions and questions of abnormality throughout the year. This custom prevails amongst the people known as Goālās or milkman class only.

In the Manbhum district a similar festivity takes place with buffaloes also which is locally known as Kārā-khontā. A goodly number of buffaloes are tethered to their respective posts and are sported in the same manner as they do with the bulls. The sporting with the bulls are styled as Gāi-dārṇḍ and so it is known in the other districts of Bihar as well where it is held. In Bengal however in the district of Rajshahi it goes by the name of Goāl-Laṭhi.

In an isolated Indian state in Central India I came to understand that the day of Dasserah is ceremoniously observed by asking the citizens of the state to assemble together round a hillock the Royal family coming with the full splendour of arms and guards either on horse-back or on elephants closely following the crowd to join the animal kept in the valley of the hillock noted above. The animal is a buffalo drunk with a special kind of liquor locally made. It is held up with its horns by a number of the Camel corps, for a member of the Royal family to strike the first blow on its neck with a sharp sword just to let the blood ooze out of its skin. The animal

is let loose and it tries to escape the agonies of the battle with the cavalry soldiers armed with lances. The result is that the buffalo is killed and is taken away by the Chāmārs to feast upon the flesh. The idea of the festivity is mainly to ward off the superstitious fear of any coming ravage by an external foe.

This custom has however been put a stop since the year 1916.

The bull and boar fights prevalent here has been noticed to survive amongst the peoples lower in caste scale or sometimes amongst the primitive tribes as in Chhota Nagpur. Is it possible that there is a definite ethnic connection between the peoples still practising the same here and those in Spain? Is it a survival from times of the Proto-Mediterranean peoples here as it is an Iberian custom in Spain? Anyway we are gradually coming to realise that even from stray custom it is very hard to insist on cultural or ethnic isolation of India.

On the Śilāris or Hirālis of Eastern Bengal.

BY

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In the Bengali monthly magazine *Śīśu-Sāthi* for Fālguna 1329 B.S. (February-March 1923 A.D.), there has appeared a poem entitled : “*Pallī Chhelerā Bāramūsi-Fālguna*” which describes the various sights and sounds to be seen and heard in a village in rural Bengal during the Bengali month of Fālguna which corresponds to the English months February—March.

In this poem, the following passage occurs :—

- १ । हाभीर जुड़े वोर धानेर बाहार एखन कत ।
- २ । आकाश पाने चेये थाके भाटोर चाषी यत ।
- ३ । सन्धे बेला कुन्दा भरे जल सेंचिवार पाला,
- ४ । “ हेंइया हु’रे ” गाय सकले काने लागी ताला ।
- ५ । आकाश कोषे मेघ देखिले डरे कांपे प्राण,
- ६ । शिलाय पाछे शेष करे याय वङ्गेर वोरधान ।
- ७ । शिलारिरा शिङ्गा फुके वोर छेतेर धारे,
- ८ । मन्त्रबले शिलापतन दूर करिते पारे ।
- ९ । छाता माथाय वोर छेतेर आल्दे येते माना,
- १० । धोलाइ कापड़ परे गेलेषो गेरस्त देय हाना ।¹

¹ Vide *Śīśu-Sāthi* for Fālguna 1329 B.S. (published by the Āśutoshā Library, No. 39-1. College Street, Calcutta), p. 558.

TRANSLATION.

1. (Oh) ! how beautiful are the crops of the *boro* paddy now standing over (all) the low-lands.

2. All the peasant-folk of Lower Bengal (*lit.*, *bhāṭī*) keep looking towards the sky (in order to watch whether or not storm-clouds appear therein).

3 and 4. In the evening, (now-a-days), all (the peasant-folk) irrigate (their fields of *boro* crops) with water baled out by means of the water-baskets (*Kunda*), (and, in order to stimulate themselves for this work), cry out : “ *Heṇiyā hu're* ” (so loudly that) it deafens one’s ears by hearing the same.

5 and 6. The hearts (of all these peasant folk) quake with fear on seeing (the appearance of) storm-clouds in the corners of the sky, (because they fear that these clouds may bring on) hail-storms which may destroy (all the standing) crops of *boro* paddy throughout (Lower) Bengal.

7, 8 and 9. *The Śilāris, who, by means of their incantations and charms, can avert the (occurrence of) hail-storms, blow (their) horn-trumpets by the sides of the fields of (standing) boro crops, (and) forbid (the passers-by) with umbrellas spread-out over their heads, to pass along the ridges of the boro-fields.*

10. The householders also forbid (the passers-by) with newly-washed clothes on, to pass (along the ridges of the said fields).

Now, the question arises : Who are these *Śilāris* or *Hirālis* ?

Before proceeding to answer this question, I shall say something about the *boro*-paddy cultivated in Eastern and Lower Bengal. Now, this paddy is cultivated on a large scale in the low-lands of the eastern parts of the district of

Mymensingh and in the *hāoras*¹ or the low-lying meadows of the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal.

The seedlings of this kind of paddy are transplanted towards the end of the Bengali month of Pausa (December-January) and are harvested from the end of the month of Chaitra (March-April) to the middle of the month of Baisākha (April-May). In times of scarcity, this *boro* paddy is the peasant-folk's main staff of life.

Now, hail-storms are the principal enemy of the standing crops of *boro*-paddy. In some years, these crops, when ready for being harvested, are entirely destroyed by these visitations of nature. In Eastern and Lower Bengal, these hail-storms very frequently take place towards the end of the month of Fālguna (February-March).

I shall now pass on to answer the question propounded above.

The *Silāris* or *Hirālīs*, who save the peasantry from the ravages of the afore-described hail-storms, are recruited from the ranks of the Yugi (युगी) and the Namasūdra (नमसूद्र) castes. They are active, strong and fearless. They learn magic and incantations from the professors of these branches of esoteric learning. While undergoing training at the hands of their teachers, the learners have to live very abstemiously. After the completion of the training-period, the students are subjected to an examination by the teachers. Sometimes, at the time of his death, the professor or *ostāda* communicates all his knowledge to his student.

¹ By the process of substituting an aspirate *ha* (ह) for the sibilant *śa* (श) or *sa* the word *hāora* (हाओर) has been derived from the word *sāgara* (सागर) thus: सागर=सायर=हाओर. In the same way, the dialect-word *hiyāla* (हियाल) meaning "a jackal" has been derived from the Sanskrit word *śrigāla* (शृगाल): शृगाल=शियाल=हियाल. Then again, by the same process, the word *hirālī* (हिराली) meaning "an averter of hail-storms" has been derived from the word *śilāri* (शिलारि) which is a synonym for the same functionary.

The *Silāris* (*Hirālis*) or “ the professional averters of hail-storms ” pray to and worship the goddess Chāṇḍī, the god Mahādeva and other deities.

The *mantras* and incantations recited by them also embody a good deal of obscene abuse.

By observing the natural signs and prognostics on the *Sankrānti* or the last day of the Bengali month of Kārttika (October-November) and, in some cases, on the first day of the month of Chaitra (March-April), they ascertain the characteristics of the storms, rains, and hail-storms which will take place during the ensuing year.

They are forbidden to take any food and to sleep on the *Sankrānti*-day of Kārttika and the 1st day of Chaitra. Some *Hirālis* also do not speak with anybody on these days. They keep looking towards the sky with a steadfast gaze, all through the time on these days.

They partake of food without any meat or fish (निरामिष) in the months of Baiśākha (April-May) and Kārttika (October-November) and lead pure and holy lives. They also observe the same rules of abstinence from the 1st day of the Bengali month of Māgha (January-February) to the *Sankrānti* or the last day of the month of Chaitra (March-April).

As there is no other means of preserving the paddy-crops standing in the fields from destruction by the hail-storms, the peasant-folk, who own these crops, entrust the duty of saving them therefrom to the *Hirālis*, each of whom keeps watch and ward over the particular field, allotted to him.

As a *sine quā non* for the performance of his duty, each *Hirālī* fasts on every new-moon day (अमावस्या) and full-moon day (पूर्णिमा) and prays to and worships the god of storms (तुफानेर দেবতা), and, thereafter, breaks his fast by partaking of the food-offerings presented to his deityship. The expenses of his afore-mentioned religious observances have to be paid by the owner of the particular field over which he is keeping watch and ward.

The proprietor of the field also pays for the whole year's livelihood of his *Hirālī*. When the *boro*-crops are safely harvested and stored up in the owner's granary, the *Hirālī* receives from the proprietor of the field his entire wages in the shape of paddy-crops.

The chief weapon and implement of the *Hirālīs* are (1) a long trident (त्रिशूल) besmeared with vermilion, and (2) a horn or trumpet (शिङ्गा) made of buffalo's horn. This *śingā* or horn is worshipped with offerings of vermilion and oil.

From the beginning of the month of Māgha (January-February) till the time when the crops of *sālī*-paddy are harvested and brought home, the *Hirālīs* do not have their finger-nails pared and their hair shorn, do not use oil and do not partake of quids of betel-leaves and areca-nuts. At this time, they have to live the life of an ascetic (ब्रह्मचर्ये काटाहते ह्य).

On seeing clouds in the sky, the *Hirālī*, after suspending the horn-trumpet from his shoulders and taking the trident in his right hand, goes to the *boro*-field.

On those days, when heavy clouds gather in the sky, and there is a great likelihood of a hail-storm bursting, *he, after stripping himself naked and tying up his hair in a top-knot, takes up the horn-trumpet in his hand. At the time of leaving his house, he besmears his forehead with vermilion.*

When the clouds of hail-storm come floating over the paddy-fields, he, after sticking his trident into the ground, blows through the horn-trumpet in quick succession. He recites the *mantras* loudly, and bawls out, at the top of his voice : "O Śiva ! I seek thy protection. O mother Chāṇḍī ! I seek thy protection." As the clouds float away onwards, he also removes his *trisūla* to that place. In this way, by the power of his *mantras*, by blowing upon his horn-trumpet,

and by the force of his trident, he wards off the threatening hail-storm from bursting over the *boro*-field.¹

Sometimes, by incurring the wrath of the deity, the *Hirālī* loses his power of averting hail-storms by means of incantations.

It is further stated that four bones of a *Hirālī* are buried in four corners of some particular field and that *it never hails upon this field*.

The *Hirālī* is also credited with the possession of the power of making a house proof against the lightning-stroke. It is stated that he can do this by performing the under-mentioned rites :—

At the south-west corner (वायुकोणे) of the house of every house-holder living within his jurisdiction, the Hirālī digs a hole and sows therein some mustard-seeds over which mantras have been recited. Thereafter, he touches the thatch (चाल) of the house with his triśūla and, thereby renders it proof against the lightning-stroke.

He also advises every householder to plant, in the south-west corner of the house, a long *triśūla* besmeared with vermilion.

He also forbids passers-by to pass along the *ālls* or ridges of the fields containing standing *boro*-crops, with newly-washed clothes on and with umbrellas spread out over their heads. It is stated that, if the prohibitions are not listened to, his incantations become fruitless and unavailing.²

The following points in the foregoing account of the

¹ The gentleman, who has communicated the foregoing information about the *Hirālīs*, says that Śāntadāsa Bābājī *alias* Tārākiśora Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L., who now resides at Brindābana, has, at page 75 of his *ব্রহ্মবাদী জড়ি ও ব্রহ্মবিদ্যা*, written about the magical powers possessed by the *Hirālīs*.

² For the foregoing information about the *Silāris* or *Hirālīs*, I am indebted to Srijuṭ Purna Chandra Bhaṭṭāchāryya, a resident of village Masuyea, in the Kisorganj Sub-division in the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal.

Silāris or *Hirālīs* of Eastern Bengal, require some detailed notice:—

(1) The recruiting of the *Silāris* or *Hirālīs*—"the Hail-averter of Eastern Bengal"—from the ranks of the *Nama-sūdras* or *Nāma Sūdra* and the *Yugī* castes.

(2) The fact that the *Hilārī* has to fast on the new-moon and the full-moon days.

(3) The fact that he is forbidden to take any food, to speak with anybody on the last day of the month of Kārttika (October-November) and the first day of the month of Chaitra (March-April).

(4) The fact that he has to partake of food without meat and fish and to lead a pure and holy life during the Bengali months of Baisākha (April-May), Kārttika (October-November) and from the 1st of Māgha (January-February) to the last day of Chaitra (March-April).

(5) The fact that, from the beginning of the Bengali month of Māgha (January-February) till the time of harvesting the crops of the *sālī*-paddy, he does not get his finger-nails and toe-nails pared, his hair clipped, does not use oil, does not partake of betel-leaves and areca-nuts, and has to live the life of an ascetic.

(6) The fact that, on seeing, in the sky, a heavy cloud which is likely to burst into a hail-storm, *he strips himself naked*, and ties up his hair in a top-knot.

(7) The sowing by the *Hirālī*, of mustard-seeds in a hole in the south-western corner of a house, and the planting of a vermilion-besmeared trident close thereto, for the purpose of making the house proof against the lightning-stroke.

(8) The worship, by the *Hirālī*, of the god of storms on the new-moon and full-moon days.

(9) The taboos against passers-by with newly washed clothes on and with umbrellas spread out over their heads, going along the ridges of the fields having crops of *boro*-paddy standing therein.

(10) The question whether there exist, in any other part of India, “averters of hail-storms” similar to the *Hirālis* of Eastern Bengal.

(11) The “Rain-doctors” of Northern Bengal.

I shall now take up, for discussion the point (1) mentioned *supra*, namely, the recruitment of the Silāris or Hirālis from the ranks of the Namaśūdra and the Yugi castes.

From the Census of 1901, it has been found that the Namaśūdra or the Chaṇḍāla is the largest caste in Eastern Bengal and, as its name signifies, stands very low in the social order. This caste is much sub-divided into a number of sub-castes, of which the eight principal ones are occupational, and never inter-dine and inter-marry with each other.

The agricultural sub-caste of the Namaśūdras stands highest in the social rank of their community. While the next higher place in the social order is occupied by the boatmen section of the caste.

No member of this caste, to whatever section he may belong, may catch fish, except for the sole purpose of supplying the needs of his own kitchen.

The Namaśūdras or the Chaṇḍālas engage a particular class of degraded Brāhmanas to act as their priests, and employ special barbers and washermen, who are their own caste-fellows to shave them and to wash their soiled clothes.¹

Then again, the Census of 1901 has shown that the Jugis are a caste of coarse cotton-weavers living in Eastern Bengal and Assam. They are believed to have derived their name, beyond the shadow of doubt, from some religious organisation of the lower castes, and to have migrated from some locality in the south-west. They have begun to wear the sacred thread *en masse*, and to put forward their claim

¹ *Ethnography* by Sir Athelstane Baine, Strassburg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trubner, 1912, p. 52.

to wear it notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the local Brāhmandom.¹

But the afore-mentioned information gained from the Census of 1901 does not show that the members of the Namaśūdras and the Jugī castes of Eastern Bengal are, in any way, gifted with supernatural or magical powers which specially befit them to become Silāris or Hirālīs, the averters of hail-storms. The gentleman, who has communicated to me the foregoing information about these Silāris, has not stated anything about the reason why they are recruited from the afore-mentioned two castes only. Under these circumstances, further researches will have to be made before any definite conclusion can be arrived at regarding this point.

Then I shall pass on to the consideration of the afore-mentioned points (2), (3), (4) and (5), all of which deal with the imposition upon the Silāri novice, when he is under training in the magical art of averting hail-storms, of certain taboos against partaking of particular kinds of food, against speaking with anybody else, and against having his hair clipped and his finger and toe-nails pared. These also deal with the imposition upon him of certain other restrictions which require him to fast wholly on certain days and to lead a pure and holy life during certain months of the Bengali calendar.

The object of these taboos and restrictions is to enable the neophyte to endure hardships which would benefit him all the more effectively to be a successful practitioner of the magical art of averting hail-storms.

With reference to this point, Miss C. S. Burne says: "The training consists normally, on the one hand, of enduring hardships, such as solitude, fasting, living on nauseous and unnatural food, till a condition of over-strained nervous excitement is produced." ²

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

² *The Handbook of Folklore*, by Miss C. S. Burne, New Edition, London; Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, p. 135.

The taboo against the neophyte Silāri's having his hair clipped off, is based on the idea that the hirsute growth of his head embodies his supernatural potency—the magical power which he has acquired for averting hailstorms—and that he will lose it if he would have it shorn off. This is paralleled by the case of the Biblical hero "Samson" whose strength lay in his hair and who lost it when his enemies shorn off his hair when he lay fast asleep and was thus easily vanquished by the latter.

Then again, the taboo against the Silāri's having his hair clipped off and his finger and toe-nails pared off, has its origin in the well-known idea which is current in the folk-lore of many races of people living in various parts of the world, namely, the belief that a witch can exercise her maleficent power over her victim or enemy by obtaining possession of the latter's hair-clippings and nail-parings or any other parts of his body. For it is firmly believed that she can injure the latter by performing the rites of what Sir J. G. Frazer has very aptly termed "Contagious Magic" over these clippings of hair and parings of nail.¹ It is for this reason that Mr. (now Dr.) W. Crooke says that "hence the natives of India are very careful about the disposal of hair-cuttings and nail-parings: and it is only at shrines and sacred places of pilgrimage, where shaving is a religious duty, that such things are left lying on the ground. The sanctity of the place is regarded as a protective against sorcery; but some extra careful people take precautions to consign their hair-clippings to running water." ²

Though, according to Miss C. S. Burne, the object of the taboo against the Silāri's speaking with anybody else is to accustom him to the hardship of solitude, I am of opinion that

¹ *Magic and Fetishism*, by A. C. Haddon, London, Constable & Co., Ltd., 1910, p. 8.

² *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, by W. Crooke, B.A., Allahabad, 1894, p. 362.

some other motive, which I shall describe presently, also lies at the root thereof.

I have already shown elsewhere¹ that, in different parts of Northern India, *various agricultural ceremonies are performed by the celebrants thereof either without the latter's speaking, or in profound secrecy and that this taboo against speaking is based on the belief that, if any talking is done or even if an ejaculation of any kind whatever, is uttered, ill-luck would overtake the celebrants of the ceremonies, for evil spirits would come and deprive the corn of its substance and nutritive properties.*

I, therefore, think that the Śilāri novice is forbidden to speak with others on certain days, because it is believed that, if he will infringe this prohibition, ill-luck will overtake him and that evil spirits will deprive him of the magical power he has acquired for averting hail-storms.

Then I come to the point (6), mentioned *supra*, which deals with the incident of *the Śilāri's stripping himself naked* on seeing, in the sky, a heavy cloud which is likely to burst into a hail-storm.

I am decidedly of opinion *that the Śilāri strips himself naked* for the purpose of frightening or driving away the malignant godlings or demons of hailstorms and of drought, for these maliciously-disposed divinities and spirits, who inflict bad weather upon humanity, "dread indecency or rather the male and female principles."²

It would further appear that, for the purpose of driving or frightening away the malignant godling or demon which produces drought, womenfolk, in various parts of the world, have recourse to *the nudity-spell or the device of stripping*

¹ Vide my paper "On Secrecy and Silence in North Indian Agricultural Ceremonies" in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)*, Vol. XIII, 1917, from over-footnote, pp. 27-42.

² Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894), p. 40.

themselves naked at the time of performing the prescribed rites. Take, for instance, Servia where in seasons of drought, *a girl is stripped naked* and, then, draped with flowers: she dances at every house of which the *materfamilias* comes out and pours upon her a jar of water, while her companions sing rain-songs.¹ (This is an instance of what Dr. Hirn has aptly termed "Homeopathic Magic" or the primitive belief that, "as like produces like, so a result can be attained by imitating it."²

Then again, during the famine which took place in the district of Gorakhpur in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1873-1874, *parties of women, at night-time, stripped themselves naked*, went out of their homes, and, taking ploughs with them, dragged the same across their fields for frightening away the demon or the malignant godling of drought, though Mr. (now Dr.) W. Crooke says that this rite was performed by way of making a piteous appeal for rain to the rain-god. In any case, the male members of the community kept themselves inside their houses in order that they might not catch glimpses of the naked women, for it was firmly believed that, if they would do so, the charm would lose its efficacy.³

The performance of a similar nudity-spell, on the occasion of a long-standing drought, has been recorded from Chunār in the district of Mirzapur in the U.P. There, in the night of the 24th July, 1892, three women from a cultivator's family *stripped themselves stark-naked*, all male-folk having been excluded from that place from beforehand. Then two of the three nude women were yoked like oxen to a plough; while the third held the handle of the plough with her hands. Thereafter they began to imitate the action of ploughing.

¹ *Op cit.*, p. 39.

² Haddon's *Magic and Fetishism* (Ed. 1910), p. 15.

³ Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Ed. of 1894), p. 41.

The woman, who held the plough-handle in her hand, then shouted out a piteous appeal to the Earth-Mother for grain, water and chaff. Thereupon the landlord and the village-accountant came forward and placed some grains, water and chaff upon that field, which having been done, the women dressed themselves and returned to their respective homes.¹

Whenever a drought occurs in northern Bengal, the women-folk of the Rājbandsis or Kōghs, a tribe resident in that part of Bengal, strip themselves stark naked and, in that state of nudity, dance before the image of their Rain-god *Hutum Deva* for the purpose of frightening him into sending down rain. One such rain-dance, performed by the Rājbandsī women, was recently witnessed by a European gentleman who is employed in one of the tea-gardens in Northern Bengal. This gentleman, who has concealed his identity under the pseudonym of 'Claudius,' has placed on record the following account of this rain-dance and has published the same in the pages of *The Englishman*, one of the leading daily newspapers of Calcutta :—

"The evening sun had dropped behind the *sal* forest. I pulled out my watch, beckoned to Reginald, and together we went home. 'Thank goodness! the day's work is over; if this heat lasts, I intend to sleep out in the porch, it will be cooler.' Calling the boy, I gave the order for the beds to be placed in the porch after dinner. We sipped our tea and talked of the day's work. After dinner, we waited till nine to turn in. A pleasant breeze had sprung up and the porch was cooler. For days, to the south-west the sky had clouded and the dark clouds were every now and then illuminated by flashes of summer lightning. We had watched and hoped; but nothing came of it; and the mornings dawned as hot as ever. We looked upon the lightning as an everyday occurrence and gave it no further thought. The bearer came up, placed the water carafes on the tables near

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

our beds and stood in silence to say good night. I turned and asked him : ‘Any rain, Etwa ?’

‘No, *sahib*, but there may be in the night, for to-night the *Rājbanīs* pray to *Hutum Deb*, and it generally rains.’ ‘Prays to *Hutum Deb* ?’ I asked with a frown ; ‘who is *Hutum Deb* and where do they pray ?’

‘They make *Hutum Deb* of clay, plastered with cow-dung ; and, taking it out to the fields, they dance round it. The *sahibs* will not be allowed to witness the dance because no men are allowed. *It is the woman’s prayer for rain, and they dance naked.*’

‘The devil they do, Etwa, but where is the *nautch* to-night ?’ ‘Behind the *sāl* trees, *huzur*, and at eleven o’clock.’

Torchlight Dancing.

At ten-thirty, I woke Reginald and quietly whispered : ‘*Hutum Deb.*’ The moon was at the full. Selecting a pair of stout sticks and seeing that our revolvers are loaded, we crept quietly downstairs, slipped past the servants’ lines and were soon lost in the heart of the *sāl* forest. As we followed the footpath to the south, on the either side, we could hear the rustle of the jungle and the noise of the parting undergrowth as animals scurried away on hearing our footsteps. As silently as possible, we got to the edge of the forest and saw several torches being carried towards us. In the centre of the group of women, as they approached nearer, we could make out *a cone of mud decorated with vermilion* being carried by an old woman. The procession approached to within fifty feet of where we were standing concealed, and *Hutum Deb, for such the cone of mud was*, was carefully deposited in the middle of a fallow field. All torches were extinguished, the women took their places forming a circle by holding one another’s hands. At a word of command from the old woman who had carried *Hutum Deb*, a plaintive soft chant rose in

the air, while the singers glided round the figure keeping time to the music. The volume of song increased as did the dance, and soon the air was rent with a wail with the words '*Hutum Deb*' coming to us every now and then. The dance went on for a time and ceased as the old woman raised her hands. There was dead silence ; and, at a word, every hand went up to the breast ; before we could realize it, *every woman was stark naked with her clothes lying alongside her*. Another command and the dance was resumed, each dancer making gestures at the lump of clay. The moon shone down on their naked, oiled bodies ; and faster and faster they danced round the idol. The perspiration streamed down as the frenzy of the dance seized them. Every now and then, at the top of their voices, *they cursed and swore at Hutum Deb, and, then, as if to propitiate him, burst into song promising the god anything, if only he would send rain*. The songs to the god of rain continued till, one by one, the dancers fell exhausted. When the last dancer sat down, they waited awhile ; *when, again, at a word from the old woman, they donned their discarded clothes, lighted the torches and went back to their dwellings*.

We took the direction to the east by a footpath that led to the P.W.D. road and got home without any molestation from the *Rājbanśis*, who were on guard on the road to see that no one interfered with the rites or tried to watch the rain-dance. They themselves stood at a respectable distance, far enough to prevent other eyes from peering.

We got home and turned in. It had been a strange experience. Few Europeans had ever witnessed the dance. Stranger still, at about three o'clock we woke with the drops of rain beating on our faces. We pulled our stretchers out of the wet. '*Good old Hutum Deb,*' murmured Reginald as his weary eyes closed in a sounder sleep."¹

Then I pass on to the consideration of the 7th point

¹ Vide the article "*The Worship of Hutum Deb*" in (the Calcutta daily) *Englishman* of Thursday, the 19th July, 1923.

which relates to the incident of sowing mustard seeds in the south-western corner of a house, and to that of pegging down a vermilion-besmeared trident close to the mustard-sown spot for the purpose of rendering that house proof against the lightning stroke.

I am decidedly of opinion that the Śilāri or the Hirālī sows the mustard-seeds in the south-western corner of the house, because the malignant godling of storms, who hurls the lightning-stroke against men, beasts, trees and houses, is very much afraid of mustard-seeds and will not, on any account, approach localities which have been sown with these seeds. On account of this belief that ghosts, demons and other evil spirits have a lively dread of the mustard-seed, it is extensively used in exorcism-ceremonies throughout India. The practice of using *mustard-seeds* in exorcism and other magical rites, is of great antiquity, for it is mentioned in the *Atharva-veda*.¹ In the Panjāb, it is believed that the ghosts and spooks of deceased persons cannot pass over ground which has been sown with mustard. For this reason, mustard-seeds are scattered about the halting-places when a corpse is taken for the purpose of burial to the grave-yard so that the ghosts of the deceased may not retrace its steps homewards.²

I am furthermore inclined to think that the charmed trident is planted near the south-western corner of the house for the sole purpose of holding out to the afore-mentioned godling of storms, the threat that, if he would have the audacity to hurl his lightning-stroke against that house, his godlingship would be pierced by that sharp-pronged weapon.

Compare the afore-mentioned rite for rendering a house proof against the lightning with the belief, which is common to the folklore of many countries, in the property possessed

¹ See the article entitled "*Mustard in Magic and Religion*" published in "*Man-in-India*" (Ranchi), Vol. VI, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 150 and 151.

² See my article on "*Some Bihari Mantrams or Incantations*" in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. IX, pp. 503-504.

by certain trees and plants for repelling lightning. In France and Germany, the house-leek is allowed to grow on house-roofs for this purpose. In Spain, sprigs of the yew-tree are hung up from the balconies of houses with the like intent. In England, bits of the hawthorn-tree gathered on Ascension Day are used as a protection against the lightning.¹ In Lower Bengal, the spurge-worts *Tekūtā Sij* (*Euphorbia antiquorum*) and the *Manasū Sij* (*E. neriifolia*) are believed to possess the power of repelling lightning. It is for this reason that pots containing these plants growing therein are placed on the terraces of houses in Calcutta and its neighbourhood for the purpose of rendering the said houses proof against the lightning-stroke. Also compare with the Japanese belief that the groves of mulberry-trees are never struck by lightning. It is, for this reason, that, whenever a thunderstorm bursts over a locality, the people living therein bawl out the word “*Kuwabara*”² (or “mulberry-plantation”) under the belief that the God of Thunder and Lightning will be led to think that a grove of those trees is near at hand and will not, therefore, approach that place. It is, by the adoption of this devise, that the Japanese ward off the lightning-stroke from their dwelling-places.³

Then I come to the 8th point which mentions that the god or godling of storms is worshipped by the Śilāri or Hirālī on the new-moon and full-moon days.

I am positively of opinion that the professional averter of hailstorms performs this *pūjā* for the express purpose of propitiating—of keeping in good humour the storm-godling so that his deityship may not cause hail-storms to burst over the fields and houses of his clients.

This storm-godling appears to be one of those deities—“the personified Powers”—who have been named by the

¹ Burne's *The Handbook of Folklore* (New Edition of 1914), page 32.

² *Op. cit.*

³ *Op. cit.*

exponents of Cultural Anthropology as being "Functional Deities"¹ and is believed to preside over storms and winds and to possess the power of producing and stopping the same. Like the majority of these "Functional Deities," he is a "power of evil" and must be actively propitiated for fear of the harm he may inflict on humanity.

Then I shall pass on to the consideration of the aforementioned point No. (9) which deals with the taboo against passers-by with newly-washed clothes on and with umbrellas spread out over their heads, going along the ridges of fields containing crops of *boro* paddy.

I am inclined to think that the storm-godling has an aversion against cleanliness and purity and cannot, therefore, endure the sight of persons wearing newly-washed clothes.

The outspread umbrella with the top end of its handle pointing upwards would seem to suggest to his godlingship the idea of the sharp prong of the charmed trident which is planted by the Śilāri in the south-west corners of houses as a weapon for piercing the former with.

It is, therefore, most likely believed that, if persons with newly-washed clothes on and with umbrellas spread out over their heads, would pass along the ridges of *boro* fields, the godling of hailstorms will become angry at the sight of them and will pour forth the vials of his wrath by causing hailstorms to burst over the aforesaid fields.

Then the question arises : "Whether there exist, in any other part of India, professional averters of hailstorms" similar to the Śilāris or Hirālīs of Eastern Bengal ? " (Vide point No. 10 mentioned *supra*).

I must answer this question in the affirmative and state that there exist, in various parts of India, professional "averters of hailstorms," as will appear from the following testimony of Sir Athelstane Baines which is based on the results of the Census of India carried on in 1901 :—

¹ *Op. cit.* P. 95.

“In most parts of India, there are specialists in exorcism and protective spells, though they may not have been yet formed into castes. *The averter of hail, for instance, is an institution in parts of Bengal, in the lower Himālaya and in the north Dekkan. In the Kumaon tracts, the duties fall to a special section of the Dom. In Bengal, there seems to be a caste for the purpose, called the Śilāri, but it is not returned at the census. Possibly it has died out, since it is frankly admitted there that people did not think it worth while to maintain a wizard who could only keep hail off the crops of his patron without having the power to call it down upon those of his neighbours. The Garpāgāri (found to number 8,800 from the Census of 1910) of the Marāthā tract is a distinct caste, though, like the Śilāri, it is on the wane, not, however, for the same reason, as the want of confidence now felt in the exorcist is due to his inefficiency even as a protector of the crop, without any after-thought regarding his power of maleficence. It is worth noting, perhaps that, these exorcists of the forces of Nature must be remunerated in kind, never in cash.*”¹

(Note that the professional averters of hailstorms are recruited mainly from the ranks of the low castes, as will appear from the fact that, in Kumaon, they are enlisted from the Dom caste which stands very low in the social order, and, in Eastern Bengal, from the ranks of the Namasudras and the Yugīs who occupy a very inferior position in the caste-organization of the last-mentioned province).

As regards the aforementioned Garpāgāris of the Central Provinces, Sir Herbert Risley says as follows :—

“A remarkable instance of the formation of a caste on the basis of distinctive occupation is supplied by the Garpāgāri or hail-averters in the Marāthā districts of the Central Provinces, a village servant whose duty it is to control the

¹ Sir Athelstane Baines's *Ethnography* (Edition of 1912), pages 89-90.

elements and protect the crops from the destructive hail-storms which are frequent in that part of India. "For this," says Mr. Russell, "he receives a contribution from the cultivators ; but, in recent years, an unavoidable scepticism as to his efficiency has tended to reduce his earnings. Mr. Fuller told me that, on one occasion when he was hastening through the Chāndā district on tour and pressed for time, the weather at one of his halting places looked threatening and he feared that it would rain and delay the march. Among the villagers who came to see him was the local Garpāgāri and, not wishing to neglect any chance, he ordered him to take up his position outside the camp and keep off the rain. This the Garpāgāri did, and watched through the night. In the event, the rain held off, the camp moved, and that Garpāgāri's reputation was established for life."¹

It would appear that the aforementioned belief in the ability of certain enchanters or wizards to keep off storms or rain by means of their incantations was prevalent, during the middle ages, among the Tartars of Cathay. The famous Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who sojourned for a long time in the court of Kublai Khan, Emperor of Cathay, has left on record the following testimony to the existence of the aforementioned storm or rain-averters :—

"During the three months of every year that the Lord (Kublai Khan) resides at that place, if it should happen to be bad weather, *there are certain crafty enchanters and astrologers in his train, who are such adepts in necromancy and the diabolical arts, that they are able to prevent any cloud or storm passing over the spot on which the Emperor's palace stands. Whatever they do, in this way, is by the help of the devil ; but they make these people believe that it is compassed*

¹ *The People of India*, by Sir Herbert Risley. Second Edition. Calcutta and Simla : Thacker Spink & Co., 1915, page 77. Also vide *Census Report of the Central Provinces*, 1901, Vol. I, page 178.

by dint of their own sanctity and the help of god. They always go in a state of dirt and uncleanness, devoid of respect for themselves or for those who see them, unkempt and sordidly attired."¹

In conclusion, I think that it will not be out of place to state here that, just as there are professional averters of hailstorms and rain, there are also professional rain-doctors or persons who are able to produce rain by means of their incantations and charms.²

The question, therefore, arises : " Whether there exists, in Bengal, any class of professional rain-doctors ?" (Vide the point No. 11 mentioned *supra*).

I must answer the foregoing question in the affirmative, for it is stated that, in Bengal, there were formerly rain-doctors (বৃষ্টিবৈদ্য) or persons who were believed to possess the power of producing or keeping off rain. These Bengali rain-doctors were called Sirela (সিরেলা). During the rainy season, no cultivator would venture to enter into a quarrel with a Sirela, for it was firmly believed that, in the event of the former's doing so, the latter would, by means of his incantations, prevent rain from falling on the former's field when it was urgently needed by him for the purposes of his cultivation. It was further feared that the angry rain-doctor would, by having recourse to his charms, destroy the offending cultivator's crops by causing too much rain to fall on the latter's fields, when there was no necessity for it at all. It is further reported that, in Jalpāiguri and the Duārs, the European managers of tea-gardens used, in former times, to keep in their service salaried *Sirelas* for supplying rain to, or for keeping it off from, their respective gardens, by means of their incantation and charms.³

¹ *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*. By Col. H. Yule. 2 vols. London : 1871. Vol I., pp. 292, 301.

² Vide the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabasi* (published from Calcutta) for (Pauṣa) 1328 B. S. (December, 1921-January, 1922 A.D.), page 337.

³ *Op. cit.*

The Indian Jats were also credited with the possession of the power of producing rain by means of incantations. It has been stated by Timur, in his *Memoirs*, that, when he was advancing with his army against the Jats, they, by means of their enchantments, raised a rain-storm and caused such heavy rain to fall that it became impossible for his cavalry to move against them. It has been further stated by him that, when a Yadachi was captured and his head was struck off, the rain-storm was stopped. In Nepal, it is believed that the Lamas have the power of controlling the weather.¹

It will not be out of place to state here that, in former times, within the historic period, there lived, in some Village in the Northern part of the District of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal, a famous Hirālī or hail-avorter, named *Jaitā* or *Jaityā*. It is generally believed that he belonged to a low caste. In appearance he was tall and stalwart. At the time when the occurrence, which resulted in his death, took place, he was seventy years old. He sacrificed his own life for the good of his co-villagers, as will appear from the following incident. On one occasion, when the ripe *Boro* crops, ready to be harvested, were standing in the fields, the sky lowered with black clouds and a hailstorm was apprehended. The villagers went in a body to Jaityā and piteously appealed to him to save their crops from the threatening hailstorm by means of his incantations. This he agreed to do, and, slinging his horn-trumpet from his shoulder and taking in his hand his charmed trident, he went to a fallow field and planting his trident therein challenged the demon of the hailstorm to come. The black clouds "wielded the flail of the lashing hail" and the hail-stones fell in showers over that fallow field. But the self-sacrificing Jaityā was killed by these hail-stones and his body lay crushed to pieces

¹ Crooke's *A. Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* Allahabad Edition of 1894), page 39.

under the debris of these stones. The villagers came and removing the hail-stones, found that only Jaityā's crushed bones had been left. They then took away those bones and distributed them among the villagers, who buried bits thereof in their respective *Boro* fields. It is popularly believed by the people of Mymensingh that these fields containing the sanctified bones of the famous hail-avorter Jaityā buried therein, are immune from hailstorms. This great act of self-sacrifice has made such a profound impression upon the hearts of the peasantry of the northern parts of Mymensingh that they have enshrined it in many a song and ballad which they regularly sing. Whenever it hails over distant *Boro* fields these peasant-folk recite the name of Jaityā for the purpose of warding off the onslaught of the demon of hailstorm from their own *Boro* fields.¹

¹ Vide the Article entitled *Jaitār Ātmatyāga* (or "Jaitya's self-sacrifice") in the Bengali monthly magazine "*Kallola*," published from 27, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, for Āswīn, 1332 B. S. (September-October, 1925), pp. 586-88. Also see the article entitled "*Chhota Loker Baḍa Dāna*" (or "A Low-caste man's great Liberality") in the Bengali monthly magazine "*Śīśu Sāthi*," published from the Asantosh Library, Calcutta, for Śrāvaṇa, 1332 B. S. (July-August, 1925), pp. 142-145.

श्रीः ॥

सरस्वतीं नमस्कृत्य सरस्वतीं विचार्यते ।
सिन्धुनाम्ना प्रसिद्धा या मध्यदेशेऽपि या स्थिता ॥
प्रसङ्गेन श्रुतेरर्थान् अन्यानपि लिखाम्यहम् ।
महानन्दः परं ब्रह्म प्रीयतां मत्प्रचेष्टया ॥

FOREWORD

I have attempted in these pages the solution of some problems in R̥gvedic history and geography. I make an appeal to Vedic scholars in India and in the West to read them with patience and to give an opinion on the value of my suggestions. I have approached the study of the subject in the spirit of an earnest seeker after truth but I can be never sure that I have not gone wrong. I shall not be satisfied therefore with any portion of my work till scholars who know express their approval of it. In conclusion I should like to request my readers to have the text of the R̥gveda open before them when they go through the paper for thus alone may I hope to be fully understood.

॥ श्रीः ॥

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE R̥GVEDIC RIVER
SARASVATĪ AND SOME CONNECTED
PROBLEMS.

BY

KSHETREŚACHANDRA CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA.

I

The R̥gveda abounds in geographical names. Of them river-names are the most important. Their identification is greatly simplified by the fact that many of these names agree with those in classical literature or still in use. But are we justified in assuming that wherever a R̥gvedic name agrees with a later one, the object signified by the R̥gvedic name is identical with the object signified by the later name? The more scientific attitude for a student of the R̥gveda would be to test in each case if the R̥gvedic object can be the same as the later object having the same name. Whoever studies the Vedas closely, after casting off from his mind all orthodox bias, is constrained to admit that the R̥gvedic Aryans had recently come into India from outside and were still confined to the Punjab and that the later Vedic literature shows the gradual extension of Aryan colonisation. Migrating people often carry old names and apply them to objects in their new locality. I might mention only New York, New South Wales and Cambridge (in Massachussets, U.S.A.). Such phenomena must have occurred in India too; the names Uttarakośala and Kośala, Uttarakuru and Kuru, Uttaramadra and Madra establish the point. The only difference lies in the fact that in these instances the older place has a qualifying adjunct ('Uttara,' etc.), whereas in the

non-Indian names cited above it is the new place which generally carries a qualifying adjunct ('New,' etc.); but we know England was also characterised by Americans as 'Old England.' 'Cambridge' in England and 'Cambridge' in U.S.A. show that it is also possible to transfer an old name without adding an adjunct.¹

It is thus that problems arise about the identification of R̥gvedic rivers which have names that are preserved in later literature. There is thus a great controversy over the identification of the R̥gvedic river Sārasvatī. Lassen and Max Müller² support its identification with the later Sarsuti which loses itself in the desert at Bhatnair. But almost all other German Vedic scholars have pronounced themselves in favour of identifying it with the Indus. At the head of all stands Roth, who in the St. Petersburg Dictionary, Vol. VII, p. 786, shows that in most passages of the R̥gveda and in some late passages सरस्वती as a river means the Indus. Zimmer,³ Grassmann,⁴ Ludwig,⁵ Weber,⁶ Oldenberg,⁷

¹ Girivraja, the capital of Kekaya, lay in the Punjab in the time of the Rāmāyana. Compare Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, Chapter 71, verses 1 and 2 (Nirṇay Sagar edition) : स प्राङ्मुखो राजगृहादभिनिर्याय वीर्यवान् । ततः सुदामां दुर्तिमान् सनीर्यावित्य तां नदीम् ॥ ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रेत्यक्षोत्तरङ्गिणीम् । यतद्रुमतरङ्गीमान् नदीमिच्छाकु-नन्दनः ॥ describing Bharata's return from the house of his maternal uncle. But in later times we find a Girivraja in Behar. I am indebted to my friend Professor Sudhāṃśukumār Sen Gupta, M.A., of the Rangpur Carmichael College, for drawing my attention to this fact.

² Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. II., p. 435.

³ Altindisches Leben, pp. 8-10.

⁴ Wörterbuch zum R̥gveda, column 1488, R̥gveda-Uebersetzung, Vol. p. 373.

⁵ Die Mantralitteratur und die alte Indien (R̥gveda-Uebersetzung, Vol. III), pp. 201-202, Die Nachrichten des Rig- und Atharvaveda über Geographie, Geschichte und Verfassung des alten Indien, p. 13.

⁶ History of Indian Literature, translated by Mann and Zachariae, p. 44 footnote.

⁷ R̥gveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten II 63.

Hillebrandt,¹ Kaegi,² and the English translator of the Vedas, Mr. Griffith,³ have followed Roth. But Professor Macdonell,⁴ who calls himself a pupil of Max Müller and his pupil Professor Keith⁵ have refused to accept the Sárasvatī-Indus identification. I have restudied the question taking the help of these and other authorities and have come to the conclusion that "Sárasvatī" originally meant the Indus. I give below in detail my reasons for believing in this identification and therewith the solution of certain problems which it seems to afford.

According to Grassmann (Wörterbuch, column 1488), the word Sárasvatī occurs in the undermentioned passages of the R̥gveda :—

(A) As proper name for a river—the small stream in the Madhyadeśa—III. 23.4.

(B) As proper name for a river—the Indus—but venerated as a goddess I. 164.49 ; II. 41.18 ; VI. 49.7 ; VI. 61.1-7, 10.11.14 ; VII. 95. 1.2.4-6 ; VII. 96. 1.3 ; IX, 67.32 ; X. 17.7.9 ; X. 30.12.

(C) As proper name for a river, invoked with other streams II. 32.8 ; V. 42.12 ; VI. 52.6 ; X. 64.9 ; X. 75.5 ; X. 184.2 ; Vāl. 6.4.

(D) As proper name for a river invoked along with other gods I. 89.3 ; II. 30.8 ; III. 53.13 ; V. 43.11 ; V. 46.2 ; VI. 50.12 ; VII. 9.5 ; VII. 35.11 ; VII. 36.6 ; VII. 39.5 ; VII. 40.3 ; VIII. 21.17.18 ; IX. 81.4 ; X. 65. 1,13 ; X. 131.5 ; X. 141.5.

(E) As the presiding goddess of 'devotion' I. 3.10-12.

¹ Vedische Mythologie, I. 92 ff. and 115.

² Der Rigveda, 2 Aufl., p. 146, note 39 (English translation, p. 110).

³ Hymns of the Rigveda, on R.V. VI. 61.2 &c.

⁴ History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 142, Vedic Mythology, p. 87. Vedic Index, II, 435-437.

⁵ Vedic Index, *loc. cit.*, Cambridge History of India, I, p. 80.

(F) As the presiding goddess of 'devotion' praised in conjunction with Īdā and Bhārati or Īdā and Mahī or Hotrā Bhārati, Īdā and Mahī, or Hotrā, Bhārati and Īdā, I. 188.8 ; II. 3.8 ; III. 4.8 ; IX. 5.8 ; X. 110.8—I. 13.9 ; V. 5.8—I. 142.9—II. 1.11.

(G) Also as a male counterpart (Sārasvant) in I. 164.52 ; VII. 96.4-6 and X. 66.5. (To these should be added VII. 95.3 which according to the Anukramanikā refers to Sārasvant.)

I shall discuss some of these passages and show that many of them warrant us in accepting the identification with the Indus.

(A) Under this section Grassmann cites only one passage, which he thinks refers to the river in the Madhyadesā. Roth¹ too is of the same opinion. They are probably right. The passage is नि त्वा दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इच्छायास्सदे सुदिनत्वे अङ्गाम् । दृषद्व्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ॥ Here two Bharata princes Devaśravas and Devavāta are asking Agni to shine bountifully on the Dṛśadvati, Āpayā and Sārasvatī. The Sārasvatī thus becomes contiguous to the Dṛśadvati and the Āpayā and Professors Macdonell and Keith are certainly justified in taking the Sārasvatī of this passage to be the modern Sarsuti. I shall return to this verse after I have discussed the other passages.

(B) Passing on to the next section, we get three passages (I. 164.49, IX. 67.32 and X. 17 7-9) which are not precise: any river can be understood as referred to. In X. 30.12 “आपो रेवतीः क्षयथा हि वस्रः क्रतुं च भद्रं बिभृथामृतस्र । रायस्रस्य स्वपत्यस्य पत्नीः सरस्वती तद्गृणते वयो धात् ॥” too there is nothing which makes us decide for the Indus or the Sarsuti. The whole hymn is in praise of the waters (“आपम् अपोनम्रीयं वा” in

¹ Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, article on सरस्वती, section (c).

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the Anukramaṇī). No particular river is referred to in any other verse of the hymn and the 'streams' (सिन्धवः) or the 'waters' (आपः) are referred to in general terms. It is therefore possible that the सरस्वती in the twelfth verse is little more than the presiding goddess of rivers. The verse may be translated line by line as—

O bounteous waters wealth do you possess,
Good knowledge have you and immortality,
Mistress are you of prosperity with good sons ;
Hence may Sārasvatī give sustenance to her singer.

The waters are invoked in the first three lines and the poet passes on to Sārasvatī in the fourth in a tone which shows that he has not begun a different theme. If we take Sārasvatī to be the same deity as the waters in the first three lines the abruptness of the fourth line is taken away. Taking सरस्वती here simply as a personification of rivers is not difficult in view of the fact that the Nighaṇṭu (I. 13) puts down सरस्वत्यः among the synonyms for 'river.'

In R. V. II. 41, verses 17 and 18 are not precise but verse 16 “अम्बितमे नदीतमे देवितमे सरस्वति । अप्रशस्ता इव सप्त प्रशस्तिं नः कृधि ॥” clearly indicates Sārasvatī to be a big river which can be called a 'river of rivers' and a 'mother of mothers' and which can make poor Gṛtsamadās prosperous. Roth therefore cites this passage in support of his view that the Sārasvatī originally meant the Indus. We next come to VI. 49. 7 : पावोरवो कन्या चित्रायुः सरस्वती वीरपत्नी धियं धात् । ग्नाभिरच्छिद्रं शरणं सजोषा दुराधर्षं गृणते शर्म यंसत् ॥, where there are clear indications of the river Indus. The Sārasvatī has been here called वीरपत्नी and ग्नाभिः सजोषाः. Griffiths is

inclined to take वीरपत्नी to mean the wife of Śārasvant. He may be right though of course that is not certain. What the “सरस्वान्” is will be discussed later on. The word ग्ना is listed in the Nighaṇṭu (I. 11) among the synonyms for वाच् but is also in the दिश उत्तराणि नामानि list beginning with प्रपित्वे अभीके, etc. (Nigh. III. 29), by the side of मेना. Yāska (Nir. III 21.2) explains मेना and ग्ना as meaning ‘woman.’ While commenting on the last Nighaṇṭu word देवपत्न्याः, he quotes (Nir. XII. 46) R. V. V. 46.8 where the word ग्नाः occurs; though he does not explain the word, his commentator does and he gives स्त्रियः as the equivalent. But in the concluding section of the Tenth Chapter of the Nirukta, Yāska renders ग्नाः by “(गमनात्) आपः”, while commenting on R.V. X. 95.7, Griffith translates the expression ग्नाभिः सजोषाः in the passage under discussion (R.V. VI. 49.7) by ‘with the Dames concordant,’ Grassmann by ‘combined with the wives’ and Ludwig by ‘with the gnās (women) concordant.’ Now ग्नाभिः सजोषाः obviously refers to सरस्वती in the first line though सजोषाः has been rendered by Sāyaṇa according to the Bombay text,¹ by सह प्रीयमाणाः and not by the singular सह प्रीयमाणा. Would I be far wrong in seeing in these gnās, with whom the Śārasvatī is associated, a reference to the five rivers of the Punjab and other tributaries of the Indus? This case by itself may prove nothing but I shall

¹ The text is probably corrupt here. In any case सजोषाः cannot be in the plural for its verb यंक्तु is in the singular. सजोषस् is the stem (cf. R. V. X. 110. 3 and Nir. VIII. 8 on this verse) and सजोषाः is its regular form in masculine or feminine nominative singular.

show below other similar expressions which would go a far way towards supporting my identification of the Sárasvatī of this passage with the Indus.

Let me now take up the several references to the Sárasvatī in R. V. VI. 61, a hymn addressed to सरस्वती. First comes up इयं शुष्मभिर्विसखा इवारुज्जानु गिरीणां तविषेभिर्हृमिभिः ।

पारावतघ्नोमवसे सुवृत्तिभिः । सरस्वतीमा विवासेव धीतिभिः ॥, VI. 61. 2.

In the first and second lines the Sárasvatī is said to loosen with her dashing waves rocks from the sides of mountains as easily as one might dig up lotus roots. Now, I ask in all earnestness, can this definition apply to the Sarsuti which is not a mountainous river? The Sarsuti is essentially a river of the plains. But the Indus on the other hand wends its way through mountains for several hundreds of miles and does not leave its mountainous character even after it passes Attock. "The Indus is about 1,800 miles in total length and is more of a mountain-bred river than the Ganges. Even after it has left the Himalayas and wound its course across the Eastern Peshāwar plain to Attock (where it is spanned by the railway bridge of the N. W. Ry system) it has not lost its characteristics of a gorge-enclosed river. It swirls down through deep rifts and clefts below Attock, parting the rugged spurs of the Punjab Salt Ranges ere it emerges into an open network of channels near the salt-built town of Kālābāgh, at least 200 miles from its Himalayan gates, and long after it has received its frontier affluents, the Kābul and Kohāt rivers."¹

The meaning of पारावतघ्नोम् in the third line need not detain us here for I shall have to discuss it later on. The reference to the unending length and the roaring torrent

¹ Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Series, Vol. I, p. 29. See Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition, Vol. XIV, pp. 507-8.

of the river in the 8th verse : यस्या॑ अन॒न्तो अ॒द्भुत॑स्त्वे॒षश्च॑ रि॒णु॒र्णवः॑ ।
 अ॒म॒श्चर॑ति रो॒रुवत् ॥ clearly supports its identification with the
 Indus. Of the same purpose is the fact that the Sārasvatī
 has been called in verse 10 स॒प्त॒स्र॒सा and in 12 स॒प्त॒धातुः॑.¹ These
 Seven sisters are clearly the seven tributaries of the Indus
 which gave to the Punjab in Vedic times the name of
 स॒प्त॒सिन्ध॑वः and in the language of ancient Iran 'Hapta Hindu'
 (cf. Vendidad I. 19). In verse 12, त्रि॒ष॒ध॒स्था स॒प्त॒धातुः॑ प॒ञ्च॑ जा॒ता
 वर्ध॑यन्ती । वा॒जि॒वा॒जे ह॒व्या भू॒त् ॥, the Sarasvatī has been called
 'residing in three regions.' This probably means that it
 flows through heaven, earth and the middle region. It is
 difficult to see how a tiny stream like the Sarsuti can be given
 this proud title. But त्रि॒ष॒ध॒स्था is easily intelligible in the case
 of the Indus whose origin is in regions where no man
 (=Aryan) has penetrated, which has run through mountains
 for hundreds of miles and then taken a level course. It is
 also on the banks of such a lengthy river that the five tribes
 (प॒ञ्च॑ जा॒ता) could reside.

Further, verse 9, सा॒ नो॒ वि॒श्वा अ॒ति॒ द्वि॒षः स्व॑सृ॒न्या ऋ॒ताव॑री ।
 अ॒त॒श्च॒ह॒व॒ सूर्यः॑ ॥, where the Sārasvatī is asked to make 'us' (the
 Aryans) overcome the enemies and cross the other sisters
 (clearly, as Sāyaṇa also understands, the seven rivers), as the
 sun by his movement makes people go over the days, clearly
 shows that (1) the Sārasvatī of the passage is the Indus and

¹ Griffith translates स॒प्त॒धातुः by 'seven sistered' and Grassmann and Sāyaṇa by 'seven-membered.'

(2) that it gave the Aryans an approach to the Punjab. It is the Sārasvatī that the Aryans reached first when coming from the north or north-east of the Pamir and naturally the poet says in verse 3 of the hymn, सरस्वति देवनिदो नि बर्हय प्रजां विश्वस्य हसयस्य मायिनः । उत क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दो विषमभ्यो अस्रवो वाजिनीवति ॥

Sāyaṇa thus explains the third and fourth lines : “उत अपिच हे वाजिनीवति अन्नवति सरस्वति त्वं क्षितिभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः अवनीः असुरैरपहृता भूमीः अविन्दः अलभ्यः । एभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः विषमुदकं च अस्रवः अक्षारयः । यद्वा क्षितयोऽसुरजनाः तेभ्यः सकाशात् अवनीः भूमीः अविन्दो लब्धवान् (?) असि । तान् हत्वा एभ्यश्चासुरेभ्यो विषं मृतिहेतुभूतं गरलम् अस्रवः ।”

Griffith translates, “Thou hast discovered rivers for the tribes of men, and, rich in wealth ! made poison flow away from them,” Grassmann, “To the tribes hast thou brought near the streams, nevertheless a poison hast thou poured to those, O dispenser,” Ludwig, “To the peoples hast thou found the rivers, that poison hast thou allowed to flow over to them, O mistress of mares,” Hillebrandt,¹ “The streams hast thou bestowed for our settlements (क्षितिभ्यः ?) and poison to flow to those, O thou rich in mares,” Langlois² “O goddess, surrounded with offerings, thou hast found the means of healing men. To our enemies thou has poured fourth poison.”

क्षितयः is given in the Nighaṇṭu (II. 5) as a synonym for मनुष्याः, अवनिः in the singular in Ngh. I. 1 as a synonym for पृथिवी and अवनयः in the plural in I. 13 for नदी. उत क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दः may therefore be translated as “and you found

¹ Lieder des Rigveda, Göttingen 1913, p. 72.

² Rig-Veda, traduit par A. Langlois, Paris 1870. I owe the English rendering to my friend Professor Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., Kāvyatīrtha, now in the Calcutta University.

the tribes rivers (by which to live).” चितिभ्यः¹ should not be translated, as Hillebrandt has done, by ‘for our settlements.’ The plural is against him. विषमेभ्यो अस्रवः² is not so easy. Langlois understands एभ्यः³ to refer to the enemies and that is also Sāyaṇa’s second interpretation ; according to Sāyaṇa’s first interpretation it refers to the very people for whom the rivers have been found. विषम् Sāyaṇa first paraphrases by ‘water’ (Nighaṇṭu I. 12. 15, see R. V. X. 136. 1a and Yāska’s Nirukta XII. 26 on it) and gives it the meaning of ‘poison’ only as an alternative explanation. We can thus have three translations for विषमेभ्यो अस्रवः—(1) ‘but you made poison flow to the enemies or the demons,’ (2) ‘and you made poison ¹ flow from off ² these peoples’ and (3) ‘and you made water flow for these peoples.’ All these meanings are possible but (3) which is Sāyaṇa’s first interpretation seems to be best suited to the context. After all these details of interpretation it is now quite plain that the Sārasvatī gave the Aryans an approach to the waters or the lands (according to Sāyaṇa) of the Punjab.³ We cannot therefore be wrong in identifying it with the Indus. That my readers

¹ The poison must be that of heat. If the second interpretation is accepted, we should search for the route (or one route) of Aryan migration through some dry or unhealthy regions. The path taken by Fā-Hien would answer to this description. He actually mentions venomous dragons. See “The Travels of Fā-Hien,” translated by Legge, Oxford 1886, p. 24., Beal’s Buddhist Records of the Western World, London, 1884, Introduction, p. xxix.

² एभ्यः³ should in this case be understood as in the fifth case-ending.

³ This is not the place to prove that the Āryas came from outside India. I may attempt this elsewhere. Apart from philological arguments, Vedic texts can be adduced which do suggest recent advent of the Aryans into this land.

may see the bearing of my remarks, I shall conclude by quoting the hymn in full :

इ॒यम॑द॒दाद्र॑भ॒स॒मृ॒ण॒यु॒तं दि॒वो॒दा॒सं व॒ध्रा॒श्र॒वा॒य दा॒शु॒षे ।

या श॒श्व॒न्त॒मा॒च॒खा॒दा॒व॒सं प॒णिं ता ते॒ दा॒त्रा॒णि त॒वि॒षा सर॑स्वति ॥१॥

इ॒यं शु॒षेभि॑र्वि॒स॒खा इ॒वा॒रु॒ज॒त्सानु॑ गिरी॒णां त॒वि॒षेभि॑रु॒र्मि॒भिः ।

पा॒रा॒व॒त॒ध्नी॒म॒व॒से सु॒वृ॒त्ति॒भिः सर॑स्वती॒मा वि॒वा॒सेम॑ धी॒ति॒भिः ॥२॥

सर॑स्वति दे॒व॒नि॒दो नि ब॑र्ह्य प्र॒जां वि॒श्व॒स्य ह॒स॒य॒स्य मा॒यि॒नः ।

उ॒त क्षि॑ति॒भ्योऽव॑नी॒र॒वि॒न्दो वि॒ष॒मे॒भ्यो अ॒स्र॒वो वा॒जि॒नी॒व॒ति ॥३॥

प्र णो दे॒वी सर॑स्वती॒ वा॒जेभि॑र्वा॒जि॒नी॒व॒ती । धी॒ना॒म॒वि॒त्य॒व॒तु ॥४॥

य॒स्वा दे॒वि सर॑स्वत्यु॒प॒ब्रू॒ते ध॒ने ह॒िते । इ॒न्द्रं न ह॒व॒त॒र्ये ॥५॥

त्वं दे॒वि सर॑स्वत्य॒वा वा॒जे॒षु वा॒जि॒नि । र॒दा पू॒षे॒व नः॑ स॒निम् ॥६॥

उ॒त स्या॑ नः सर॑स्वती॒ घो॒रा ह॒िर॒ण्य॒व॒र्त॒निः । ह॒व॒घ्नी व॒ष्टि सु॒ष्टु॒तिम् ॥७॥

यस्या॑ अ॒न॒न्तो अ॒ङ्ग॒त॒स्त्वे॒ष॒श्च॒रि॒णो॒र॒ण॒वः । अ॒म॒श्च॒र॒ति रो॒रु॒वत् ॥८॥

सा नो॑ वि॒श्वा अ॒ति॒ द्वि॒षः स्व॑सृ॒न्या ऋ॒ता॒व॒री । अ॒त॒व॒ह॒ेव॑ सूर्यः ॥९॥

उ॒त नः॑ प्रि॒या प्रि॒या॒सु स॒म॒स्व॒सा सु॒जु॒ष्टा । सर॑स्वती॒ स्तो॒म्या भू॒त् ॥१०॥

आ॒प॒प्र॒षी पा॒थि॒वा॒न्यु॒र॒जो अ॒न्त॒रि॒क्षम् । सर॑स्वती॒ नि॒द॒स्या॒तु ॥११॥

त्रि॒ष॒ध॒स्या स॒म॒धा॒तुः प॒ञ्च जा॒ता वर्ध॑यन्ती । वा॒जे॒वा॒जे ह॒व्या भू॒त् ॥१२॥

प्र या म॒हि॒म्ना म॒हि॒ना॒सु चे॒किते॑ द्यु॒न्नेभि॑र॒न्या अ॒प॒सा॒म॒प॒स्त॒मा ॥

रथ॑ इ॒व ह॒ह॒ती वि॒भ्व॒ने क्षा॒तो॒प॒स्तु॒त्या चि॒कित॑षा सर॑स्वती ॥१३॥

सरस्वत्यभि नो नेषि वस्यो मापस्करौः पयसा मा न आ धक् ।

जुषस्व नः सत्या वेश्या च मा त्वत्क्षेत्राख्यरणानि गन्ध ॥१४॥

I may now pass on to R. V. VII. 95, another hymn addressed to Sarasvatī. I have discussed this hymn in the Calcutta Review for May, 1922, pp. 318-331, but I shall do this once again. I begin by quoting the hymn in full :

प्र चोदसा धायसा सस्र एषा सरस्वती धरुणमायसी पूः ।

प्रबाधधाना रथ्येव याति विश्वा अपो महिना सिन्धुरन्याः ॥१॥

एका चेतसरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात् ।

रायश्चेतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरर्धृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुषाय ॥२॥

स वाह्वे नयी योषणासु वृषा शिशुर्वृषभो यज्ञियासु ।

स वाजिनं मघवद्गो दधाति वि सातये तन्वं मामृजीत ॥३॥

उत स्या नः सरस्वती जुषाणोप श्रवत्सुभगा यज्ञे अस्मिन् ।

मितञ्चुभिर्नमस्यैरियाना राया युजा चिदुत्तरा सखिभ्यः ॥४॥

इमा जुह्वाना युष्मदा नमोभिः प्रति स्तोमं सरस्वति जुषस्व ।

तव शर्मन् प्रियतमे दधाना उप स्थेयाम शरणं न वृक्षम् ॥५॥

अयमु ते सरस्वति वसिष्ठो हारावृतस्य सुभगे व्यावः ।

वर्ध शुभ्रं स्तुवते रासि वाजान्यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः ॥६॥

From the very first verse, we find clear indications of the river Indus. विश्वा अन्या अपः प्रबाधधाना याति means “(the Sárasvatī)

goes pushing amain all the other streams." This is quite correct of the Indus which meets several tributaries and instead of swerving its own course carries down their waters with her own and the poet naturally conceives सरस्वती as going विश्वा अन्या अपः प्रबाधना. प्रबाधना = प्रबाधमाना (Sāyana) and it can never mean "outstripping" as supposed by Dr. Abinashchandra Das (Rigvedic India, Vol. I, p. 72). In the second verse the Sārasvatī is said to go from the hills to the sea. This description would apply better to the Indus. The Sarsuti may have reached the Arabian Sea¹ by joining the Indus somewhere below Sukkur or the Rann of Cutch, either direct or through the old bed of the Indus² as beds of the Sarsuti and the Ghaggar seem to indicate; and the Sarsuti does rise from the Siwalik Hills (which are not very high) but it very soon reaches the plains. The Indus on the other hand rises from the Himalayas, rushes through mountains for hundreds of miles and reaches the Sea directly. Roth therefore cites R. V. VII. 95. 2 in support of his Sārasvatī-Indus-identification; but it must be admitted that the description here may hold good for the Sarsuti too, only the Indus suiting it *better*. In the last line of the second verse, the Sārasvatī is said to have supplied ghee and water (or ghee-like water) to Nāhuṣa. There is a good deal of controversy over the meaning of 'Nahuṣ' or 'Nahuṣa' or 'the Nāhuṣas,'³ but Nahuṣ or Nahuṣa was probably a man (a chief) and the Nāhuṣas may

¹ The Rajputana Sea is impossible. The Rgveda shows the civilisation of the late Iron Age, long before which the Rajputana Sea dried up.

² See Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. 30, Vol. XII, pp. 212-213; Holditch, Gates of India, pp. 27, 144; Oldham, J.R.A.S. XXV. 49-76; Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, maps 2, 3, 4, and the coloured folding map there and Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, map; also map accompanying Raverty's paper "The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries," in J.A.S.B., 1892.

³ See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 438-39.

have been his descendants. In R. V. VIII. 6.24 ^उत ^{त्य}दा[॥] ^{स्व}स्वा[॥] ^यदिन्द्र[॥]
^{ना}हुषी[॥] ^अग्ने ^{वि}ष्णु ^{प्र}दीदयत् ॥, Indra is invoked by Vatsa Kaṇva
 to bestow on him (or, may be, on his patron Tirindirā Pāra-
 śavya) 'that troop of fleet horses which in the primary days
 the Nāhuṣa subjects could boast of.' Now if Nahuṣa or the
 Nāhuṣas are placed somewhere on the banks of the Indus,
 their fleet horses can be very well understood and that alone
 might confirm the identification of the Sārasvatī with the
 Indus on the basis of VII. 95.2 "एका ^{चे}त[॥] ^{स्व}स्वती ^नदीनां ^{शु}चिर्यती
^{गि}रिभ्य ^आ समुद्रात् । ^{रा}य[॥] ^{से}तन्तो ^{भु}वनस्य ^{भू}र्धृतं ^पयो ^{दु}दुहे ^{ना}हुषाय ॥."

The Bṛhad-devatā (ed. Macdonell) VI. 19-24 gives the story
 of king Nāhuṣa, who wishing to perform a thousand years'
 sacrifice approached several rivers with the request of carrying
 away his offered oblations but as they refused on the plea of
 being *alpavīrya* and as they so advised him, he came to the
 Sārasvatī and had his prayer granted.

Verse 3 of R. V. VII. 95 clearly supports the Sārasvatī-
 Indus-identification. Its 'deity' is according to the Anu-
 kramaṇikā, Sārasvant and the Anukramaṇikā is right, for in
 the following hymn Sārasvant is invoked by name in
 verses 4-6 after Sārasvatī's praise in verses 1-3. Sārasvant
 is according to the compiler or compilers of the Nighaṇṭu a
 god of 'the middle region' and Sāyaṇa positively identifies
 him with Vāyu though Yāska says nothing explicit on the
 point. But we need listen to none of them.¹ If सरस्वान् is
 classed with वायुः and other gods of the middle region,
 सरस्वती too is so classed. As सरस्वती in VII. 95 and VII. 96 is
 a river and not a मध्यमस्थानदेवता, सरस्वान् too of the same hymns

¹ Sārasvant in I. 164,52 is clearly a मध्यमस्थानदेवता.

should not belong to the 'middle region.' Who then is he ? Obviously he is somebody closely connected with the Sārasvati. The first and second lines of verse 3 may be translated thus,—“That hero, (who was before) a child increased and (became) a bull, able to saturate, when the sacrificial damsels (reached him).” This Sārasvant is quite clearly the lower part of the river Sārasvati (=the Indus) after the Kubhā (with the Suvāstu), Krumu and other tributaries of the Indus had joined her—“He who was a child before has become a potent bull now” can only mean “the stream which was narrow before has now become broad.” “Now” = “after the ‘sacrificial damsels’ (=the holy rivers), had reached him.” This clearly means that the Indus became very broad after the Kabul and Punjab rivers reached it. I cannot understand how any other interpretation can be put on the passage. Sarsuti does not now, and did not as certainly in the past, receive a number of tributaries which could swell its stream. I am giving below Sāyaṇa's comments on the passage and it will be seen that I am partly supported by him. He writes,

स मध्यमस्थानो वायुः सरस्वान् नर्यो नरेभ्यो हितः (Sā. renders नर्यः by 'beneficial'—'manly' would be better) योषणासु यतः¹ वृषा सेचनसमर्थः शिशुः अल्पः प्रादुर्भावसमये अल्पतया दृश्यमानः वृषभो वर्षिता (here Sāyaṇa has failed or omitted to bring out the contrast between शिशु and वृषभ) एवंभूतः सरस्वान् यज्ञियासु यज्ञार्हासु योषणासु आत्मनः कलत्रभूतासु मध्यमस्थानास्वसु (clearly = नदीषु, Sāyaṇa's addition of मध्यमस्थानासु is altogether gratuitous) मध्ये (why not make भावे सममी—तासु आगतासु or मिलितासु ?) वृष्टे वर्धते ॥

Sārasvati, according to the Nighaṇṭu (I. 13) means simply a river, a नदी. Sārasvant should then mean a नद and Amara in the Nānārthavarga of the Third Kāṇḍa of his

¹ योषणासु यतः is omitted by Peterson (Second Selection of Hymns from the Rigveda², p. 255) and Vijapurkar, and in Max Müller's text. I have given the reading of the Bombay text, published by Tukaram Tatya.

Nāmalingānūsāsana gives it the meanings of नद and अर्णव. If the Sārasvant of VII. 95.3 is the part of the Indus from where Kubhā, Krumu and Gomati join her, we may well understand the later designation of the Indus as a नद. An additional support for my supposition that the Sārasvant in VII. 95.3 (and VII. 96. 4-6) meant the lower part of the Indus (below Dera Ismail Khan) may be found in VII. 95.3, स वाजिनं मघवद्भ्यो दधाति, which may be translated as 'he gives to the rich sacrificers horses.' That वाजिन् can mean a horse is borne out by the Nighaṇṭu I. 14 and R. V. I. 116.6, I. 162.21 and 22, I. 163.5, IV. 40.4, etc., etc. We may see here a reference to the famous horses of the Indus valley, the 'saindhavas' of later literature.

To support my proposal for taking the Sārasvant to be a portion of the Sārasvatī (=the Indus), I may cite similar customs still ruling in the Punjab, *e.g.*, one main branch of the Candrabhāgā at its head-waters is called Candra and the other Bhāgā, one main feeder of the Tungabhadrā river is Tunga and the other Bhadrā, one part of the valley along the Maruwārdwan (=Rgvedic मरुद्वा according to Stein) is called Maru and another Wārdwan.¹

To continue with R. V. VII. 95, the fourth verse (last quarter) calls Sārasvatī उत्तरा सखिभ्यः (surpassing her 'associates'). The associates are probably the tributaries (the "seven sisters" of R. V. VI. 61.10) and the Indus certainly surpasses them all by her length, majesty and importance and on account of her receiving the waters of those streams. Verses 5 and 6 contain no precise information this way or that way.

¹ See Sir M. A. Stein's paper 'River-names in the R̥gveda' in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 24.

In the following hymn (VII. 96) the *Sārasvatī* has been called (in the first verse) 'the mighty among rivers' (असुर्या¹ नदीनाम्—Sāyaṇa : नदीनां मध्ये असुर्या असुरशब्दाच्चतुर्थ्यैकवचनस्य¹ व्यादेशः असुरायै बलवत्यै नदीरूपायै सरस्वत्यै अस्याः प्रीणनार्थमित्यर्थः and surely the Indus is the mightiest of the Punjab rivers. I shall discuss below VII. 96.2, where the *Pūrus* are said to dwell on both the banks of the *Sārasvatī*. I may now pass on to the next section—

(C) For the *Sārasvatī* as a river goddess invoked along with other streams, Grassmann cites II. 32. 8, V. 42.12, VI. 52.6, X. 64.9, X. 75.5, X. 184.2, Val. 6.4. R. V. II. 32.8 gives no precise data; nor also V. 42.12, unless we should find in बृहद्दिवा, obviously an adjective of सरस्वती, an indication of the mighty character of the river which would be more intelligible in the case of the Indus. In R. V. VI. 52.6, the *Sārasvatī* has been called 'swelling with the rivers' (सरस्वती¹ सिन्धुभिः पिन्वमाना) and that clearly makes it the Indus. Sāyaṇa's rendering सिन्धुभिः स्यन्दनैरुदकैः is altogether unwarranted. The word सिन्धु is not in the Nighaṇṭu list of synonyms for उदकः.²

¹ Grassmann (Wörterbuch z. R., 157) takes असुर्या to be in the nominative but he proposes (Wörterbuch, 157 and Übersetzung I, 584) the emendation असुर्याम्. He also wants to alter रोदसी in the last quarter to रोचसी. But I dare not support such bold emendations.

* In Nir. X. 5, Yāska quotes R. V. VIII. 41.2, तम् पुं समना गिरा पितृणां च मन्त्रभिः । नभाकस्य प्रशस्तिभिर्यः सिन्धूनामुपोदये सप्तस्वसा स मध्यमी नभन्तामन्यके समे ॥ and renders सिन्धूनाम् by स्यन्दमानामासासाग्राम् which must mean 'of the rivers' for that meaning alone can suit the context and Sāyaṇa too paraphrases सिन्धूनाम् here by स्यन्दमानानां नदीनाम्.

Sāyaṇā has himself rendered सिन्धवः पिबमानाः in the verse preceding the previous one (VI. 52.4b) by वर्धमानाः स्यन्दनशीलानद्यः. The Indus certainly does swell when she receives the waters of the Kubhā, the Krumu, the Gomatī and the Punjab rivers. Vāḷakhilya VI. 4 reads पूषा विष्णुर्हवनं मे सरस्वत्यवन्तु सप्तसिन्धवः । आपो वातः पर्वतासो वनस्पतिः शृणोतु पृथिवी हवम् ॥. If I am allowed to base any arguments on a Vāḷakhilya passage, I may claim *some* support for my identification from this verse. Sārasvatī is invoked here and then the Seven Rivers and then the waters. Sārasvatī is therefore distinguished from the seven streams and is given a more important position. It becomes probable therefore that the more important सरस्वती of the passage is the Indus and the less important सप्त सिन्धवः the Seven Rivers which carry their waters to the Indus.

But when we come to the passages from the Tenth Maṇḍala, the Sārasvatī-Indus-identification can no longer be supported. In X. 64.9 the Sārasvatī is invoked along with the Sīndhu and the Sarāyu and must therefore be the later Sarsuti. In the famous verse X. 75.5, “इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति श्रुतुदि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या । असिक्तया मरुद्भुधे वितस्तायार्जिकोये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥” too the Sārasvatī is the Sarsuti for the rivers mentioned here are in due order, from east to west and the Sārasvatī comes after Gaṅgā and Yamunā and before Śrutudrī. In X. 184.2, there is no precise datum but as the hymn to which it belongs is very late, being in the Epic Anuṣṭubh metre, and belonging to what Arnold, following Bloomfield, calls the period of the Popular R̥gveda—we cannot doubt its reference to the Sarsuti.

(D) Under this section (Sárasvatī invoked with other gods), Grassmann cites 18 verses of 16 hymns. In few of them are there precise data. I shall therefore notice only those passages from which we may learn something. In II. 30.8, सरस्वती has been called मरुत्वती and धृषती which adjectives may apply better to the Indus (*cf.* VI. 61.5). In V. 43.11, the sacred Sárasvatī is invoked to come to 'our' sacrifice from the heaven, from the great mountain (आ नो दिवो ब्रह्मतः पर्वतादा सरस्वती यजता गन्तु यज्ञम्). The Sarsuti, which rises from the Siwalik ranges would not be this Sárasvatī. The Indus rising from the glaciers of the Himalayas outside India would naturally be asked by the Vedic poets to come from the heaven. In VII. 36.6b the सरस्वती has been called सप्तथी सिन्धुमाता. सप्तथी obviously means 'the seventh' (=सप्तमी). Sāyaṇa takes सिन्धुमाता as सिन्धुरिव माता and Grassmann (Wörterbuch, 1520) as सिन्धूनां माता but they are both wrong for the word is a Bahuvrihi compound having the accent in the first member and on the usual syllable. सिन्धुमाता must therefore mean 'one who has *sinḍhus* (rivers) as her mothers,' *i.e.*, 'one who is nourished and increased by other rivers.' The Sárasvatī has been called सप्तस्रसा in VI. 61.10; it was therefore the eighth. Consequently सप्तथी सिन्धुमाता here must be a loose expression for सप्तसिन्धुमाता ('having seven tributaries'). This passage may be thus considered to support the identification of the Sárasvatī with the Indus. VII. 39.5^d "सरस्वती मरुतो मादयन्ताम्" is to be put on a par with II. 30.8. In VIII. 21,

17, 18 (Sobhari Kaṇva's *dānastuti* of Citra), there are no precise data, but the Brhaddevatā (VI. 58-62) would place the scene of action alluded to here in Kurukṣetra and the Sārasvatī would then become the Sarsuti but the identification is as uncertain as the worth of the absurd story told by Śaunaka.

(E) Passing on to the next section (Sārasvatī as the presiding goddess of the sacrifice), we find only one passage cited, viz., I. 3. 10-12. By the nature of the case we cannot find here any characteristics of either river. Still म॒हो अ॒र्णः स॒रस्वती

प्र॒ चे॒तय॑ति॒ के॒तुना॑ in I. 3.12 does lend some support to the Sārasvatī-Indus-identification. In the following section (F) (Sārasvatī as the goddess of the sacrifice, invoked in conjunction with Idā, Mahī, etc.), Grassmann cites several passages but none of them give the characteristics of the Indus or the Sarsuti.

(G) I have now finished Sārasvatī. Sārasvant in VII. 95.2 is, as I have shown above, the lower part of the Indus.

R.V. VII. 96.5 “ये ते स॒रस्व॒ ऊ॒र्मयो॑ मधुमन्तो दृ॒त॒श्च॒तः । तेभि॑र्नी॒ऽवि॒ता भव॑ ॥” and VII. 96.6 “यी॒पि॒वांसं॑ स॒रस्वतः॑ स्त॒नं यो वि॒श्वदर्श॑तः । भ॒क्षीम॑हि

प्र॒जामि॑षम् ॥” clearly indicate that Sārasvant is a river and it must be the lower part of the Indus on the analogy of VII. 95.3. But the Sārasvant in I. 164.52 is obviously a ‘god of the middle region’ (=Apām Napāt). R.V. X. 66.5 tells us nothing.

I have discussed all the passages in the R̥gveda containing precise data about the river Sārasvatī and have shown that the majority of them support its identification with the Indus. I have still to bring forward some more corroboratory evidence and to answer objections against the Sārasvatī-Indus-identification.

The word सरस्वती must have originally meant simply 'a river' (Nighaṇṭu I. 13.30) and the name may have been subsequently specialised for a particular river—the river *par excellence*. The same thing may be said of the word सिन्धु. It may be well assumed that the R̥gvedic Aryans were thoroughly acquainted with the Indus and one would expect to find in the R̥gveda frequent mention and praise of this mighty river. But we find no such thing, if “सिन्धु” alone represents the Indus. सिन्धु in the R̥gveda is a common name for rivers, excepting only a few passages. Had the seers very few words to say about the Indus when they were so very eloquent over a much less important stream at the other end of the Punjab which carried its waters to that Indus? Professors Macdonell and Keith ought to have pondered over this point before rejecting the Sārasvatī-Indus-identification.

As in the case of सरस्वती, I shall cite and discuss the passages which contain the word सिन्धु as a proper name. Grassmann in his Wörterbuch (columns 1519-1520) gives a variety of meanings to the word *sīndhu* and gives complete reference to the passages that illustrate them. But for *sīndhu* as a proper name for the river Indus, mentioned as simply a river or praised as a goddess, he has been able to cite only seven hymns: R.V. I. 122.6, III. 33.3, 5, V. 53.9, VIII. 20.25, VIII. 26.18, X. 64.9 and X. 75.3, 7, 8, 9. But of them the first three do not refer to the Indus. R.V. I. 122.6 is श्रुतं मे मित्रावरुणा हवेमोत श्रुतं स दने विष्णतः सीम् । ओतु नः ओतुरातिः सुओतुः सुवेदा सिन्धुरङ्गिः ॥ This verse belongs to a

Vaiśvadeva hymn. Here सिन्धुः seems to be simply the presiding goddess of rivers. Sāyaṇa is wrong in taking the word

to be in the masculine—"जलाभिमानो देवः"—for it has a feminine adjective (सुचेत्रा). This goddess gets the adjective सुचेत्रा because all rivers make lands good for cultivation. Sāyaṇa takes सुचेत्रा to be in the accusative (=सुचेत्राणि) and he makes it the object of क्लेदयन् ('saturating the good fields') which he supplies. But the text as we have it does not stand in need of such assumptions and सुचेत्रा as a feminine adjective makes better sense.¹ The word may have been brought in simply for filling up the line and for alliteration with सुश्रोतुः.

Coming to R. V. III. 33. 3, 5 : अच्छा सिन्धु मादृतमामयासं विपाश-
सुर्वी सुभगामगन्ध । वत्समिव मातरा संरिहाणे समानं योनिमनु सञ्चरन्ती ॥३॥
रमध्वं मे वचसे सोम्याय ऋतावरीरुप सुहर्तमेवै । प्र सिन्धुमच्छा हृहती
मनीषावस्युरद्वे कुशिकस्य सनुः ॥५॥, we find that *sīndhu* simply means 'a river.' This hymn, as is well known, contains a dialogue between the two rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī and Viśvāmitra who wishes to cross them with the Bharatas. The सिन्धुम् in verse 3 obviously refers to the Śutudrī (which is not

¹ The accent in the second member ought not to create any difficulty. Bahuvrīhis with *su* as the first member often accent the second member on the final syllable (Panini VI. 2-172), whereas we have here accent on the first syllable of the second member. But Bahuvrīhis with *su* which accent the usual syllable of the second member are not rare. Thus Macdonell in his Vedic Grammar (Strassburg, 1910), § 90. B d (p. 93) writes, "Possessives beginning with *su* 'well' regularly accent the second member, usually on the original syllable; e.g. *su-bhāga* "well-endowed." Wackernagel in his altindische Grammatik (Vol. II, Part I, Göttingen 1905, p. 294) cites *su-dēva*, *su-hasta*, *su-sēṇa*, *su-sṛṅga*. The list may be considerably added to; but I may mention only *su-gābhastī* in R. V. V. 43-4 and VI. 49-9 and *su-tāra* in VI. 60-11, VII. 97-8 and X. 167-6,

mentioned by name in "a, whereas Vipāś is so mentioned in 3 b). The सिन्धुम् in verse 5 too must refer to either of these two streams (probably to the Śutudrī the more important of the two) or to both. One therefore wonders how Grassmann could cite these passages for 'Sindhu' as "Eigenname des Indus-Flusses." But in his Translation (Vol. I, p. 80), he has quite sensibly taken the word to mean simply a river in both these verses. R. V. V. 53-9 "मा वो रसानितभा कुभा कुसुर्मा वः सिन्धुर्नि रीरमत् । मा वः परिष्ठाक्षरयुः पुरीषिष्यस्ते इत्सुन्मस्तु वः ॥,"

however, most certainly mentions the Indus as सिन्धुः, for मा वः is repeated before सिन्धुः and "सिन्धुः" must be therefore a specific river here and cannot be adjective to कुसुः in the preceding foot, as अनितभा¹ is to रसा and पुरीषिणी may be² to सरयुः. R. V. VIII. 20-25, VIII. 26-18, X. 64-9 and X. 75 undoubtedly use the word सिन्धु as the name of a particular river (obviously the Indus).

But Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index II, 450) cite R. V. I. 126-1, IV. 54-6, IV. 55-3, VII. 95-1, VIII. 12-3, VIII. 25-14, in addition to I. 122-6, V. 53-9, VIII. 20-25, VIII. 26-18 and X. 64-9 as mentioning the Indus by the name of सिन्धु. That R. V. I. 126-1: "अमन्दास्तोमात्प्र भरे मनीषा सिन्धावधि क्षियतो भाव्यस्य । यो मे सहस्रममिमीत सवानतूर्तो राजा अथ इच्छमानः ॥" refers to the

¹ Anitabhā should not be taken as the name of a distinct river as Max Müller (S.B.E. XXXII, 323) and Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index, II, p. 209, ll. 18-20) have done; for the word occurs nowhere else in the R̥gveda or elsewhere as the name of a river.

² But see below for another suggestion about this पुरीषिणी.

Indus cannot be doubted, especially because the ewes of Gandhāra are mentioned in the concluding verse of the hymn. But by no means as certain are IV. 54-6, IV. 55-3: “ये ते त्रिरङ्गन्त्सवितः सवासो दिवेदिवे सौभगमासुवन्ति । इन्द्रो द्यावापृथिवी सिन्धुरद्रिरादित्यैर्नो अदितिः शर्म यंसत् ॥४१५४१६॥” “प्र पत्न्याऽमदिति सिन्धुमर्कैः स्वस्तिमीळे सख्याय देवीम् । उभे यथा नो अहनी निपात उपासानता कर्तामदध्वे ॥४१५५१३॥,” where सिन्धुः may well mean the goddess presiding over rivers. R. V. VII. 95-1 has been quoted and discussed in connection with the identification of the Sārasvati and सिन्धुः is a common noun there, obviously meaning ‘the river,’ and refers to the सरस्वती in the second line. It is therefore much to be regretted that Professors Macdonell and Keith have understood the word as a proper noun meaning the Indus.¹ In VIII. 12-13: “येन सिन्धु महीरपो रथा इव प्रचोदयः । पत्न्यामृतस्य यातवे तमीमहे ॥,” *sindhu* most probably means rivers in general for the feat described here is that of Indra² and Indra is everywhere³ said to set free the rivers to flow. R. V. VIII. 25-14 “उत नः सिन्धुरपां तन्मरुतस्तदग्निना । इन्द्रो विष्णुर्मिर्द्वास सजोषसः ॥” too probably refers not to the Indus but either to rivers in general or to the sea.⁴ R. V. VIII. 25-12 “अघ्नते विष्णवे वयमरिथन्तः सुदानवे । शुधि स्वयावन्त्सिन्धो पूर्वचित्तये ॥,” too

¹ Vedic Index, II, article on Sindhu, note 3.

² The hymn is addressed to Indra.

³ Compare 11. 12-12 अवासुजग्मवे ससिन्धुः.

⁴ Compare Grassmann, Wörterbuch, column 1519, meanings 11 and 13 for Sindhu.

contains nothing that would compel us to believe that the Indus is meant by सिन्धो.

In his Vedic Reader for Students (p. 103) Professor Macdonell renders “त्वां गिरः सिन्धुमिवावनीर्महीरापृणन्ति शवसा वर्धयन्ति च” (R. V. V. 11-5 c and d) by “The songs fill thee, as the great rivers the Indus, with power, and strengthen thee.” But it is not at all necessary to bring in the Indus here. सिन्धुः here can very easily mean the ocean ; for the idea of the rivers or waters filling the sea I may refer to R. V. III. 35-3 “समन्था यन्त्युप यन्त्यन्थाः समानमूर्वं नद्यः पृणन्ति” where Macdonell himself understands ऊर्वम् to mean the ocean. Grassmann (Wörterbuch and Übersetzung) gives सिन्धुम् in V. 51-5 the meaning of ‘the sea.’

We thus see that in the whole R̥gveda only half a dozen passages can be certainly cited as referring to the Indus by the name of Sīndhu, viz., I. 126.1, V. 53-9, VIII. 20.25, VIII. 26-18, X. 64-9 and X. 75. Is this not remarkable, when there are so many references to the river Sārasvatī ?

The Indus as सिन्धु is praised in only one complete hymn (X. 75), whereas Sārasvatī or Sārasvant are sung in at least three entire hymns, VI. 61, VII. 95 and VII. 96, all belonging to an earlier age. But if we take Sārasvatī (in the older portion of the R̥gveda) and Sīndhu (in old as well as late portions of the R̥gveda) both as meaning the Indus we find a very large number of references to this important river. I now quote below R.V. X. 75 a famous hymn in praise of the Sīndhu (Indus) and show that the description can be closely paralleled by earlier descriptions of the Sārasvatī (=Indus, according to what I have just said).

The hymn is, according to the Anukramaṇī, by one Praiṣa-medha-living-on-the-Indus and runs thus :—

प्र सु व आपो महिमानमुत्तमं कार्त्तुर्वाचाति सद्ने विवस्वतः ।
 प्र सप्तसप्त त्रेधा हि चक्रसुः प्र सृत्वरीणामति सिन्धुरोजसा ॥१॥
 प्र तेऽरदद्वरुणो यातवे पथः सिन्धो यद्वाजं अभ्यद्रवस्वम् ।
 भूम्या अधि प्रवता यासि सानुना यदेषामग्रं जगतामिरज्यसि ॥२॥
 दिवि स्वनो यतते भूम्योपर्यनन्तं शुभमुदियति भानुना ।
 अभ्रादिव प्र स्तनयन्ति वृष्टयः सिन्धुर्यदेति वृषभो न रोरुवत् ॥३॥
 अभि त्वा सिन्धो शिशुमित्र मातरी वात्रा अर्धन्ति पयसेव धेनवः ।
 राजेव युध्वा नयसि त्वमित्तिचौ यदासामग्रं प्रवतामिनक्षसि ॥४॥
 इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्णया ।
 असिक्नया मरुद्दुधे वितस्तायार्जिकीये शृणुद्या सुभोमया ॥५॥
 वृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सजुः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेत्या त्वा ।
 त्वं सिन्धो कुभया गोमतीं क्रुमं मेहत्वा सरथं याभिरीयसे ॥६॥
 ऋज्वीत्वेनी रुशती महित्वा परि ज्र्यांसि भरते रजांसि ।
 अदव्या सिन्धुरपसामपस्तमाश्वा न चित्रा वपुषीव दर्शता ॥७॥
 स्वश्वा सिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा हिरण्ययी सुकता वाजिनीवती ।
 जर्णावतौ युवतिः सीलमावत्युताधि वस्ते सुभगा मधुवधम् ॥८॥
 सुध्वं रथं युयुजे सिन्धुरग्निं तेन वाजं सनिषदस्मिन्नाजी ।
 महान् द्यस्व महिमा पनस्यतेऽदव्यस्व स्वयशसो विरटिग्नः ॥९॥७५॥

In the first verse the Sîndhu has been said to have outstripped the other rivers “स॒त्त्वरी॑णाम॒ति” (च॒क्राम॒ or क्र॒मति॒ understood) which can be paralleled by उत्तरा॑ स॒खिभ्यः for the Sârasvati in VII. 95. 4. Coming to the second verse we find भूम्या॑ अ॒धि प्र॒वता॑ यासि॒ सानु॑ना ‘you flow down towards the earth by the sides of mountains (=mountain-gorges)’ and this at once reminds us of VI. 61. 2 “इ॒यं शु॒षेभि॑र्बिस॒खा इ॒वाकृ॑ज॒त् सानु॑ गिरी॑णां त॒विषे॑भि॒रुर्मि॑भिः, etc.,” and V. 43-11 “आ नो॑ दि॒वो ह॒हतः॑ पर्व॒तादा॑ सर॒स्वती॑ य॒जता॑ ग॒न्तु य॒ज्ञम्.” The third verse seems to echo VI. 61-8, “यस्या॑ अ॒नन्तो॑ अ॒द्भुत॑स्वे॒षरि॑ण॒रुण॑वः । अ॒मश्न॑रति॒ रोरु॑वत् ॥” The first half of the fourth verse “अ॒भि त्वा॑ सि॒न्धो शिशु॑मि॒न्न मा॒तरो॑ वा॒श्वा अ॒र्धन्ति॑ प॒यसे॑व धे॒नवः” has its parallel in “सर॒स्वती॑ (स॒मथी॑) सि॒न्धुमा॑ता” of VII. 36-6 which I have explained at length. Verses 5 and 6 describe only the eastern and western tributaries of the Indus¹ and we need not touch them. In the seventh verse the Sîndhu has been called अ॒पसाम् अ॒पस्त॑मा ‘most active of the active ones’ and the same adjective has been given to the Sârasvati in VI. 61-13. The latter half of

¹ Of course the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā are not tributaries of the Indus. But as all the other rivers mentioned carry their waters directly or through other streams to the Indus, may we not think that our poet who lived on the Indus, knew not precisely where the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā discharged their waters? But the Jumna was really at one time a tributary of the Indus (Keane’s, Asia, Vol. II, 62) and Praiyamedha may have been living before its course was diverted to the Ganges. It is only about the Gaṅgā that he may have made a mistake,

verse 8 “ऊर्णावती युवतिः सीलमावत्युताधिवस्ते सुभगा मधुहधम्” may be reminiscent of VII. 96. 5 “ये ते सरस्व ऊर्मयो मधुमन्तो दृतसुतः । ते भिर्नीविता भव ॥” For the “हिरण्ययी” in the first half we may cite “हिरण्यवर्तनिः” in VI. 61-7. The concluding verse too may be partly paralleled by VII. 95-3 “स वाजिनं मघवद्भ्यो दधाति वि सातये तन्वं मामृजीत.” In conclusion I may point out that in X. 75, the Sīndhu has received both feminine and masculine adjectives, e.g., रुशती, अदध्या, etc., by the side of अस्य अदधस्य, विरप्शिनिः and this is exactly similar to सरस्वती in the feminine and सरस्वान् in the masculine appearing together in one single hymn (VII. 96 and VII. 95). None of these agreements *singly* prove anything but their *cumulative effect* is suggestive. Can it be denied therefore that we get some corroborative evidence for the Sārasvatī-Indus-identification from R.V. X. 75 ?

I may now begin to answer the objections raised against this identification. I shall “प्रधानमङ्गनिबर्हणन्यायेन” confine myself to what Professors Macdonell and Keith¹ have said. They write :—

“The insistence on the divine character of the river is seen in the very hymn² which refers to it as the support of the five tribes, and corresponds with its later sacredness. Moreover that hymn alludes to the Pārāvatas, a people shown by the later evidence of the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa³ to have been in the east, a very long way from their original home,

¹ Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 436-437.

² R.V. II. 41. 16 (devi tame).

³ See Pārāvata and cf. Bṛhasya.

if Sarasvatī means the Indus. Again, the Pūrus, who were settled on the Sarasvatī,¹ could with great difficulty be located in the far west. Moreover, the five tribes might easily be held to be on the Sarasvatī, when they were, as they seem to have been, the western neighbours of the Bharatas in Kurukṣetra, and the Sarasvatī could easily be regarded as the boundary of the Punjab in that sense. Again, the 'seven rivers' in one passage² clearly designate a district; it is most probable that they are not the five rivers with the Indus and the Kubhā (Cabul river), but the five rivers, the Indus and the Sarasvatī. Nor is it difficult to see why the river is said to flow to the sea: either the Vedic poet had never followed the course of the river to its end, or the river did actually penetrate the desert either completely or for a long distance, and only in the Brāhmaṇa period was its disappearance in the desert found out. It is said, indeed, in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā³ that the five rivers go to the Sarasvatī, but this passage is not only late (as the use of the word Deśa shows), but it does not say that the five rivers meant are those of the Punjab. Moreover, the passage has neither a parallel in the other Saṃhitās, nor can it possibly be regarded as an early production; if it is late it must refer to the later Sarasvatī."

¹ R.V. VII. 95, 96. Ludwig, *op. cit.*, 3, 175, admits that the Indus cannot be meant here. See Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* 1, 115.

² R.V. VIII. 24-27. The connexion of Sarasvatī and the seven rivers is rather vague. In R.V. VIII. 54.4, Sarasvatī and the seven rivers are separately invoked, and in VI. 61. 10. 12, she is referred to as 'seven-sistered' (*saptasvasā*). In VII. 36. 6, she is called the 'seventh,' which makes the Sarasvatī one of the rivers. If the former passages are to be treated as precise, then *saptasvasā* may be considered to show that the Sarasvatī was outside the river system (which would then be Indus, Kubhā and the five rivers of the Punjab, see *Sapta-Sindhavaḥ*); but the expression may be loosely meant for one of seven rivers.

³ XXXIV. 11.

In R.V. II. 41. 17 all men (वि॒श्व॒ आ॒य॒यि—Macdonell and Keith's 'five tribes'?) are said to be supported by the Sárasvatī and in the previous verse the river has been called the most motherly and the highest goddess. But how does that compel us to believe that the river is the Sarsuti? There is nothing in the R̥gveda which precludes us from holding that in the earliest period, the Indus was considered as a particularly sacred river. A sacred character does attach to the Sīndhu described in R.V. X. 75; cf. महान् ह्यस्य महिमा पनस्यतेऽदभ्यस्य स्वयशसो विरप्शिन्., 9 c and d. The R̥gvedic life was a riverside one: the Vedic Aryans seem to have been all settled on river banks. Naturally they looked upon all rivers as sacred. This habit is also seen among the ancient Iranians who paid honour to the Ardvī-Sūra-Anāhita and among later Hindus¹ who have all their sacred places on river banks. The Indus being the biggest river was the most beneficent stream and naturally the Vedic Aryans would call her *umbitamā*, *naditamā* and *devitamā*. The banks of the Indus cannot today boast of vegetation, but they have not always been treeless. "There was a time when forests grew on the Indus—forest with timber sufficient to enable Alexander the Great to construct the first Indus flotilla."² Grains too may have grown there extensively in Vedic times. I therefore see no difficulty in holding that along with the name Sárasvatī, the sacred character too of the Indus was in later times transferred to the Sarsuti of Kurukṣetra.

Nor do I see any force in the objection raised by Macdonell and Keith on the ground of the alleged allusion

¹ Before beginning our *pūjā*, we purify the water by muttering the *mantra* गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गीदावरि सरस्वति । नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरि जलेऽस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु ॥, manifesting our veneration for rivers.

² Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. 28.

to the Pārāvatas in connexion with the Sārasvatī. The reference to the Pārāvatas is not in II. 41 but in VI. 61. 2 where we have पारावतघ्नोमवसे सुदृ॒क्तिभिः॑ सर॒स्वतीमा॑विवासेम धी॒तिभिः॑. Macdonell and Keith say, as the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa shows the Pārāvatas to be living on the Yamunā, the Indus cannot be a destroyer of them and hence the पारावतघ्नो सर॒स्वती must be the Sarsuti of Kurukṣetra, not very far from the Jumna. I do not see how it may be scientific to interpret the Ṛgveda in the light of the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa. Also, how do the Professors become sure that there is a reference to a people known as the 'Pārāvatas' in VI. 61. 25. The word पारावत occurs only in four places of the Ṛgveda, viz., V. 52. 11, VI. 61. 2, VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6. Grassmann in his Wörterbuch (column 807) and Uebersetzung (Vol. I, pp. 203, 289, 561, 566), gives the word the meaning of 'coming from a distance' in the first and last passages, deriving it from *parāvāt* 'distance' and the meaning of 'a particular people' only in VIII. 34. 18. He renders पारावतघ्नो in VI. 61. 2 by 'striking the distant (foemen or demons).' Similarly Roth in the Sanskrit Wörterbuch. Of course the Pārāvata in VIII. 34. 18 is perhaps a tribal name of the donor Vasurocis praised in the hymn and "पारावतं॑ यत्पुरु॑संभूतं वस्त्र॑पाद॒ण्योः शर॑भाय॒ ऋषि॑बन्ध॒वे" in VIII. 89. 6 too probably refers to the wealth of a Pārāvata, as Sāyaṇa understands the passage, though Roth and Grassmann make पारावतम् here simply an adjective from परावत्. But it is altogether certain that in V. 52.11 "अ॒धा नरो॑ न्यो॒हते॑धा॒ न्युत॑ ओ॒हते॑ । अ॒धा पारा॑वता॒ इति॑ चि॒त्रा रूपा॑णि द॒श्या ॥" we have a word which is to be derived from *parāvāt*. पारा॑वताः here are the Maruts. How can these be connected with a particular

people? The Maruts are the *devatā* of the hymn. In the first quarter of this verse, the 'men' (heroes) are said to 'blow hither' (*i.e.*, to the place of the sacrifice); this idea is repeated in the second foot where नरः is substituted by नियुतः ('gathered together') and the repetition of the conjunction च and the want of any verb in the third foot show that there is a further repetition and the verb ओहते is to be supplied from the first and second feet. पारावताः is thus an adjective to the Maruts, which is parallel to the नरः in the first line and नियुतः in the second. Sāyaṇa's rendering दूरदेशसम्बन्धिनः¹ is the only possible one.² The verse may be thus translated line by line,

Now the heroes blow hither,
 Now in bands they come hither,
 Now (they come who are) of distant realms,
 Brilliant aspects (have they) worth the sight.

I have no hesitation in rejecting Griffith's translation (particularly of the third line): "To this the Heroes will attend, well do their teams attend to this. Visible are their varied forms. Behold, they are Pārāvatas."

We thus see that there is at least one passage in which the word पारावत does not mean a particular people. It is just possible that in VI. 61. 2 too there is no reference to any Pārāvatas. पारावतस्त्री might well mean 'dashing from a distance.' This description very nicely suits the Indus.

¹ Similarly Grassmann, "die man aus der Ferne ruft."

² That पारावताः here means 'those who have come from a distance' is made highly probable by R. V. V. 53.8 आ यात नरतो दिव आन्तरिक्षाद्मादुत । माव स्यात पारावतः and V, 61, 1 ॥ के ष्टा नरः श्रेष्ठतमा य एकएक आयय । परमस्थाः पारावतः ॥ where the Maruts are said to 'come from a distance.'

‘Dashing against the rocks’ too might do if Hillebrandt’s suggestion¹ about the origin of the word *pārāvata* be accepted. Yāska in his Nirukta (II. 24) has commented on this verse and has rendered पारावतन्नीम् by पारावारघातिनीम् ‘dashing against the sides.’ There is nothing in the context that militates against this interpretation but there may be etymological difficulties against accepting it; ‘dashing from a distance’ will present no such difficulty. Hence we cannot be sure that a people called Pārāvatas are referred to in VI. 61.2. Even if it be true that the poet calls the Sārāsvatī the killer or overthrower of the Pārāvatas in verse 2 of the hymn, as he has called her the consumer of the Paṇis in verse 1 and has asked her to destroy the progeny of the sorcerer Bṛsaya in verse 3, we need not locate the Pārāvatas at a distance from the Indus. I have said above that R. V. VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6 refer to a tribe known as Pārāvatas. In VIII. 34, Nīpātithi Kāṇva sings the praise of Indra and concludes with a *dānastuti* of the Pārāvata Chief (?) Vasurocis² who had given him a thousand fleet and strong horses. Surely we would expect the finest breed of horses on the banks of the Indus. Would we therefore be far wrong in locating the Pārāvatas of R. V. VIII. 34. 18, somewhere near the Indus? I do not see why we should go to the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa for the localisation of the country of the Ṛgvedic Pārāvatas, when it is certain that in the Brāhmaṇa period many tribes had left their old Ṛgvedic homes and had migrated further into the interior of India.³

¹ See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, 512.

² I believe that वसुरीचिषः in verse 16 and पारावतस्य in verse 18 refer to the same person and that the former is the personal name of the donor and the latter his tribal name.

³ Incidentally I may mention however that Hiuen Tsang in Book XI of his Travels, gives a description of 23 countries mostly in the order of his

The passage from the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (IX. 4. 10-11) which refers to the Pārāvatas is “तौरश्वसे कार्य्ये ॥१०॥ तुरश्वसश्च वै पारावतानाञ्च सोमी संसृतावास्तां तत एते तुरश्ववाः सामनी अपश्यत् ताभ्याम् अस्मा इन्द्रः शास्त्रलिना यमुनाया हव्यं निरावहत् । यत्तौरश्वसे भवतो हव्यम् एवेषां वृङ्क्ते ॥११॥” The context makes it certain that both Turaśravas and the Pārāvatas lived or sacrificed on the Yamunā. But should we draw any argument from this passage for the home of the R̥gvedic Pārāvatas? Besides, is it certain that in the R̥gveda too (VIII. 34, and VIII. 89) पारावत meant an individual tribe? It would be simpler to conceive that पारावत of R. V. VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6 too came from पारावत् and meant “any distant or frontier tribe.” The word has the same accent in VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6 as in V. 52. 11 and it is therefore most likely that in all the three places it is derived from the same stem. In the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa too, it is possible, no individual tribe is meant but ‘the distant people.’ This is made likely by what follows almost immediately after—“विहव्यं शंसाम् ॥१३॥ जमदग्नेश्च वा ऋषीणाञ्च सोमी संसृतावास्तां तत एतज्जमदग्निर्विहव्यम् अपश्यत् तमिन्द्र उपावर्तत । यदिहव्यं होता शंसतीन्द्रमेवेषां वृङ्क्ते ॥१४॥,” the only passage in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa which gives a parallel to the one quoted above. Here r̥isis are mentioned

travel, among which comes PO-FA-TO which Beal Sanskritises as Parvata. The fifteenth country is SIN-TU (Sindhu), the sixteenth MU-LO-SAN-P’U-LU (Mūlāsthānapura = Multan) and the seventeenth is our PO-FA-TO. The eighteenth is ’O-TIEN-P’O-CHI-LO (Aryanabakala?). After concluding his description of the land PO-FA-TO, Hiuen Tsang writes, “Leaving the Sindh country, and going south-west 1500 or 1600 li, we come to the Kingdom of ’O-TIEN-P’O-CHI-LO.” By this he clearly means that SIN-TU proper, MU-LO-SAN-P’U-LU and PO-FA-TO are in the Sindh country. The PO-FA-TO is thus near the Indus. Beal (Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 275, n. 87) points out that Pāṇini in IV. 2. 143 (“पर्वताच्च” coming immediately before “विभ्यषाऽननुष्य” ४।२।१४४) probably refers to the country of पर्वत and certainly reads the name पर्वत in the तच्चशिलादि class (“सिन्धुतच्चशिलादिभ्योऽननुष्यौ” ४।२।१२१).

in general terms as rivals of Jamadagni and no particular sages are mentioned. In P. B. IX. 4. 11 too 'the distant people, the frontier tribes' may have been mentioned instead of an individual tribe. The 'distant people' are said to have sacrificed on Yamunā but that river may have then formed the eastern boundary of Aryan settlements and peoples on its banks could well have been characterised as 'distant people or frontier tribes.' In support of my guess, I may refer to Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XXV. 13. 4, "स य आग्नेये-नाष्टाकपालेन दक्षिणेन तीरेण दृषद्वत्याः शम्यां परासगतिं त्रिप्लक्षान् प्रति यमुनामवभृथमभ्यवेति तदेव मनुष्येभ्यस्तिरोभवति ॥" in the section on the Dārṣadvata Satra and to the corresponding portion of the Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (X. 19. 8-15)—"दृषद्वत्या दक्षिणेन तीरेण्यात् ॥८॥ तस्याः प्रभव्यमर्मं प्राप्यैतयेष्टेष्टा त्रिप्लक्षावहरणं प्रति यमुनामवभृथमभ्यवेयात् ॥९॥ यत्र क्व च ततो दूरे यमुना स्यात् तत्रैतयेष्टेष्टा स्वयं साम गायन्नवभृथमभ्यवेयादगायन् वा ॥१०॥ प्रव्रजिष्यतोऽयनमिदं मन्य इति धानञ्जप्यस्तदेव मनुष्येभ्यस्तिरोभवति ॥११॥ न ग्रामं पुनरेयादितौव ॥१२॥ स्वर्गं लोकमाक्रमते ॥१३॥ व्यावर्तते श्रियान् भवतीति वा ॥१४॥ उदकान्त-र्जनाद्वा यथा सरजस इति ॥१५॥" It is probably because the Yamunā then formed the eastern boundary of Aryan habitation that an *avabhṛtha* in its waters could be utilised for the Dārṣadvata Satra, a ceremony which ensured 'disappearance from the human world' and attainment of heaven. The Pārāvatas on the banks of this Yamunā might be therefore simply 'a frontier people.' पारावत would thus become a relative term, able to denote any distant tribe and in any direction. पारावतघ्नीम् in R. V. VI. 61. 2, does not in all probability refer to any tribe at all, but even if it does, these Pārāvatas may have been a tribe or tribes living at a distance from the habitation of the Bharadvājas.

The Pūrus are mentioned in R. V. VII. 96. 2 as living on both the banks of the Sarasvatī. I cannot understand how this goes against identifying the Sārasvatī of this passage with the Indus. Professors Macdonell and Keith say that

it is difficult to place the Pūrus in the extreme west, but why? The Pūrus were one of the confederates against whom Sudās fought in the famous battle of ten kings on the banks of the Ravi. This Ravi is just midway between the Indus and the eastern Sarsuti and the Pūrus living on the eastern bank of the Indus may well have marched thence to fight with Sudās. In this battle ten kings belonging probably to ten different tribes fought against Sudās and some at least of them may have come from a distance simply for the sake of this engagement. I shall have to return to this point again when I shall show the connexion of the Pūrus with the Bharatas and the later Kurus. It will be evident from what I shall say that the Bharatas did not always occupy the country of Kurukṣetra and that in the time of the earlier portion of the R̥gveda they lived in the western Punjab. The five tribes could therefore easily be their neighbours in those days though these tribes lived on the Indus (R.V. VI. 61. 12).

The सप्तसिन्धवः¹ of VIII. 24. 27 undoubtedly meant a country and evidently the land which is now known as the Punjab, but what reason is there for supposing that the seven rivers which gave the land this name were the Indus, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, the Sutlej and the Sarsuti? The Vedic poets were acquainted with and have mentioned many rivers besides these, in the Punjab and outside the Punjab. Why should we therefore exclude the Suvāstu (Swat), the Kubhā (Kabul), the Krumu (Kurru), the Gomati (Gomal), the Sarayū (identity uncertain), the Marudvṛdhā (Maroowardhwan), Dr̥sadvati and the Yamunā from the list of rivers? The "seven rivers" are often mentioned in connexion with Indra's famous feat of killing Vṛtra and "letting loose the waters." I think 'seven' is in all these passages merely a traditional number. Attempts to determine what particular rivers in the Punjab made up this number are therefore only "काकदस्तगणना."

I do not deny that in the time of the R̥gveda, the Sarsuti reached the sea (the Arabian Sea or the Rann of Cutch); but, as I have shown above, my identification of the Sarasvatī of the older portion of the R̥gveda with the Indus does not rest on the ground of its reaching the sea. On a former occasion,¹ I had claimed support for my Sárasvatī-Indus-identification in Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā XXXIV, 11: पञ्च नद्यः सरस्वतीमपियन्ति सस्रोतसः । सरस्वती तु पञ्चधा सो देशोऽभवत् स्रित् ॥ But this is undoubtedly a very late *mantra* and

I am now convinced that there is no reference to the Indus here—this is not for the occurrence of the late word *deśa* but on account of the undoubted fact that in the period of the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas the centre of Vedic culture and Aryan habitation had shifted to the Madhyadeśa and the little stream in Kurukṣetra must have been then the Sárasvatī of sacred memory. I therefore now propose to take the verse to mean, “the five (sacred) rivers² of similar stream enter into (*i.e.* impart their sanctity to) the Sárasvatī (=the Sarsuti) which (though flowing in a different land possesses the sanctity of even those rivers and) becomes the five-time sacred river of the land (Kurukṣetra or Madhyadeśa).” For a similar idea, compare Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa XXV, 13, 3, where Kurukṣetra is said to be equivalent to the whole world.

Professors Macdonell and Keith³ have rightly seen a contradiction between the two adjectives of the Sarasvatī *Saptāsvasā* (VI, 61, 10) and *saptāthī sindhumātā* (VII, 36, 6). They take the first to be a loose expression. But as the adjective seven-sistered is more frequent, it would be more proper to take rather the second expression (‘the seventh of the rivers’) to be loosely used. I have already

¹ Calcutta Review for May 1922, p. 319.

² Probably the five rivers of the Punjab, but there is some uncertainty.

³ Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 436, note 20.

discussed these passages and I need not repeat what I have said. The *Sárasvatī* would therefore be best taken as outside the system of 'seven rivers' but I do not want to press the point. As regards the specification of these seven rivers I do not venture upon a guess and I prefer, as I have just said, to take 'seven' to be a merely traditional number. Compare X, 75, where *Praiyamedha* living on the *Síndhu* characterises the "waters" as moving in groups of seven (सप्तसप्त).

I have now come to the end of this section. I have shown that in the earlier portions of the *R̥gveda*, particularly in *Maṇḍalas* VI and VII, "*Sárasvatī*" means the Indus and in the Tenth *Maṇḍala* it means the *Sarsuti* in *Kurukṣetra*. As the Aryans advanced from the Indus basin, crossed the Punjab rivers and occupied the *Madhyadeśa*, they gave to the river in *Kurukṣetra* parallel to the *Dṛśadvatī* the name of *Sarasvatī*, which in earlier times meant the Indus. The Indus was first called "*Sárasvatī*" and occasionally also "*Síndhu*" but since the little stream in *Madhyadeśa* came to appropriate to itself that old name, the Indus went by the name of '*Sindhu*' alone. The *Sarsuti* was thus the Eastern *Sárasvatī*. The *St. Petersburg Dictionary* states that it did often have the adjective पूर्वा or प्राची which, if true, would support my view.¹ That the Indus was once known as the "*Sárasvatī*" is also proved by the fact that a province to its west (*Arachosia*) is given the name of *Haraxvaiti* in the *Avesta* (*Vendidad* I, 13) and *Harauvati*

¹ I find in a Gujarati article in the "Gujrat" for Aswin, 1979 (*Samvat*), the following Sanskrit verse, quoted probably from some *Purāṇa* text, which I cannot trace to its source :

सुद्रावर्ते कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीस्थले पुष्करेऽपि वा ।

प्रभासे पश्चमे तीर्थे पञ्च प्राची सरस्वती ॥

The verse shows that the name *Sarasvatī* has not been confined to one single stream,

in the Ancient Persian Inscriptions (Behistan, I. 17, III. 55, 56, 72, 76, Darius Persepolis e 17, Darius Nakṣ-i-Rustam 24).

II

In this part I shall cite some other cases of transference of river names. First comes the Gomatī. According to Grassmann गोमती as a proper name for a river occurs only in R. V. VIII, 24, 30 and X. 75, 6. I have quoted in full the seventy-fifth hymn of the Tenth Maṇḍala and it is quite clear that the Gomatī there is a western tributary of the Indus and Professors Macdonell and Keith ¹ too have not doubted its identification with the Gomāl. This Gomatī then is not the river Gumti in the United Provinces. What reason is there for believing with Geldner that the Gomatī of R. V. VIII, 24, 30 should be the Gumti? Professors Macdonell and Keith have said, "This accords well with the later use of the name and with the general probability of the river here intended being in Kurukṣetra, as the centre of Vedic civilization." But the Gomatī of R. V. X, 75, 6, is surely not the same as the later Gomatī (Gumti). The general probability mentioned by the Professors is purely subjective and has little basis in facts. It is only the civilization of the later Saṃhitās that probably and of the Brāhmaṇas most certainly centred round Kurukṣetra. Professors Macdonell and Keith seem to find reference to the river Gomatī in a third passage of the R̥gveda, viz., V, 61, 19, "एष॑ क्षेति॑ रथवीति॑र्म॒घवा॑ गोमती॑रनु॑ ।
पर्व॑तेष्व॑प॒श्वितः॑ ॥" Here both the accent (acute on the first syllable) and inflection (feminine accusative plural) of

¹ Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 238.

गोमती: are against this supposition. Of course it has been proposed to read गोमतीम् but one feels a strong prejudice against such emendations and I cannot find it in me to reject both the Samhitā and Pada texts. The word is best left as it is. Professor Oldenberg ¹ writes, "Change of accent as well as change of case-ending raises a doubt where the origin of the text-corruption is obscure. In spite of the force in the striking resemblance with VIII, 24, 30 (अपश्चितः in both the places !), should not one support here गोमती: having regard to IV, 21, 4 ?" गोमती: in V, 61, 19 cannot therefore mean the river गोमती. Sāyaṇa renders the word by उदकवतीर्नदीः. If that meaning is not liked, surely गोबहुला भूमी: which suits the context well will be acceptable. The poet (Śyāvāśva Ātreya) expresses in verse 10 his gratitude for a gift of hundred cows each received from Purumīḥa, Taranta and Vaidadaśvi ² and has also already (verses 5-9) poured forth his gratitude for similar gifts from an unnamed lady.³ In verses 17 and 18, एतं मे स्तोममूर्ध्न्यं दार्भ्याय परा वह । गिरो देवि रथीरिव ॥ उत मे वोचतादिति सुतसोमे रथवीती । न कामो अय वेति मे ॥ our poet says that his wants are not fulfilled and wishes that Dār̥bhya Rathavīti should be informed of this. Would it be wrong therefore to find in the following verse (closing one in the hymn) a wistful reference to the plentiful cows in the mountain abodes ⁴ of Rathavīti some of which he may graciously send

¹ R̥gveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten I, 355.

² It seems best to take these three as three distinct persons.

³ Śāśiyasī may not be her name nor is it certain that she was Tarantā's wife.

⁴ Little importance should be attached to the story in the Brhaddevata V, 50-80, told in this connexion.

down to the needy Śyāvāśva? I may mention here that Professor Oldenberg notices a play on the word गोमतीम् in VIII, 24, 30.¹ It thus appears to me that no river called Gomatī is mentioned in V, 61, 19. The गोमती in X, 75, 6 certainly and in VIII, 24, 30, probably ² is the Gomāl. But in later times a different river comes to be called the Gomatī.

A similar transference of epithet is also found in the case of the Yamúnā. The name occurs thrice in the Ṛgveda, viz., in V, 52, 17, VII, 18, 19 and X, 75, 5. In the last passage the river mentioned is obviously the Jumna; its position in the list leaves no doubt on the point. But in VII, 18-19, Hopkins ³ thinks the Yamunā is either the Paruṣṇī or "the double channel of the upper Ravi" and though Macdonell and Keith ⁴ have rejected the view I cannot help following him. In VII, 13, 18-19, Bheda is said to have been killed and stripped of all his treasures, on the Yamúnā and the Ajas, Śigrus, Yakṣus are said to have suffered there a great massacre of horses. The poet has been so long describing the *Dāśarājña* battle on the Paruṣṇī (the Ravi). Is it easy to suppose that he has suddenly jumped to the description of another victory achieved by Sudās hundreds of miles away? Professors Macdonell and Keith have supposed ⁵ that Bheda was not one of the opponents of Sudās in the *Dāśarājña* battle. That immediately after mentioning the miraculous character of Sudās' single-handed victory over the ten kings in verse 17, Bheda is mentioned in verses

¹ Ṛgveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten II, 98.

² I would read in the mention of the land of seven rivers in verse 27 a support for the western localisation of the Gomatī.

³ India, Old and New, p. 52.

⁴ Vedic Index, II, pp. 186-87.

⁵ Vedic Index, II, pp. 110-111.

18 and 19 makes it more than probable that he was one of these combatants. Besides, R. V. VII, 33, 3, “एवे॒न्नु कं॑ सि॒न्धुमे॑भिस्तारि॒वे॒न्नु कं॑ भेद॒मेभिर्ज॑घान । एवे॒न्नु कं॑ दा॒शरा॒ज्ञे सु॒दासं॑ प्रावदि॒न्द्रो ब्र॒ह्म॒णा वो व॑सि॒ष्ठाः ॥” makes it altogether certain that Bheda was vanquished in the Dāśarājña battle. सि॒न्धुमे॑भिस्तार clearly alludes to Sudās’ escape from the flood which his Dāśarājña enemies had expected would overpower him and Sāyaṇa is certainly right in citing here VII, 18, 5 “अ॒र्षो॑सि चि॒त्प॒प्र॒थाना॑ सु॒दास॑ इ॒न्द्रो गा॒धान्य॑कृ॒णोत्सु॒पारा॑ । श॒र्धन्तं॑ शि॒न्धुमु॒च॒यस्य॑ न॒व्यः शा॒पं सि॒न्धूना॑मकृ॒णोद॑श॒स्त्रीः ॥” R. V. VII, 33, 3 shows beyond doubt that Bheda was one of the participators in the Dāśarājña league and lost his life in that battle. But that battle was fought on the Paruṣṇī. The Yamūnā on which Bheda was killed according to VII, 18, 18 was therefore either this same Pāruṣṇī or a river that joined it very near the place of battle (in which case we may suppose that the battle was fought between the two rivers). That Yaksu¹ is said in VII, 18, 6, “पु॒रो॒ळा इ॒त्तुर्व॑शो य॒क्षुरा॑सी॒द्राय॑ म॒त्स्यासो॑ नि॒शिता॑ अपी॒व । शु॒ष्टिं च॑कु॒र्भृग॑वो दु॒ह्यव॑स स॒खा स॒खाय॑मतर॒द्विषू॑चोः ॥” to have been entangled along with Turvaśa in the Dāśarājña engagement and his people the Yaksus are said in VII, 18, 19 “आव॑दि॒न्द्रं य॒मुना॑ ढ॒क्षव॑स प्रा॒त्र भेदं॑ सर्व॒ताता॑ मुषायत् । अ॒जास॑स शि॒ग्रवो॑

¹ Yaksu certainly means a particular king or the chief of a particular tribe. It may or may not be a doublet or a mistake for Yādu. Sāyaṇa’s य॒क्षकु॒लः (य॒जेः स॒न्प्रत्य॑यो न तु स॒न्नः अतो॑ न द्विर्भा॒वः) is impossible. Langlois takes it as a proper name and so also Grassmann in his Wörterbuch (though in the translation he seems to have omitted the word altogether but without any explanation). Professors Macdonell and Keith seem to have considered Yaksu in VII, 18, 6, to be a proper name (Vedic Index, II, 882).

यक्ष्व॑स॒ बलिं॑ शी॒र्षाणि॑ ज॒म्बु॒र॒क्ष॒गानि॑ ॥” to have lost their horses on the Yamúnā also proves that the Yamúnā was not distinct from or at least distant from the Paruṣṇī.

R. V. V, 52, 17 too leads us to the same conclusion. The hymn is addressed to the Maruts. The author is Śyāvāśva of the Atri family and the Fifth Maṇḍala contains ten hymns by him, all addressed to the Maruts, of which this is the first. In verse 7, the Maruts are said to have ‘waxed mighty’ (वा॒व॒धन्त॑) among ‘rivers’ (वृ॒जने॑ न॒दीना॑म्). No river

is specified till we come to verse 9, “उ॒त॒ स॒ ते प॑रु॒ष्ण॒ग्रामू॑र्षी वसत॑ शु॒न्यवः॑ । उ॒त॒ प॒थ्या र॑या॒नाम॑द्रिं भि॒न्द॒न्यो॒जसा॑ ॥,” where the Páruṣṇī (the Ravi) is mentioned. The following seven verses have no river names but there is one name in the next one (the last in the hymn) “स॒प्त॒ मे स॒प्त॒ श॒क्ति॒न॒ एक॑मेका॒ श॒ता द॑दुः । य॒मु॒ना॒याम॑धि

श्रु॒तमु॒द्रा॒धो ग॑व्यं मृ॒जे नि॒ रा॒धो अ॑श्वं॒ मृ॒जे ॥, where the poet says that he obtained on the Yamúnā famous gifts of cows and horses (or gifts of cows and horses famous on the Yamúnā). We saw the words Yaraúnā and Paruṣṇī mentioned in similar contexts in VII, 18. Here too we find the two names in one hymn in such setting that we would not naturally take them to refer to distant and disconnected rivers. Would it be proper to suppose that these two rivers alone have been mentioned here only by the merest chance? Chance in one place is intelligible but in two places makes us pause and think. That Śyāvāśva belonged to the west is conclusively proved by V, 53, 9, मा वो॑ र॒सानि॑त॒भा कु॒भा कु॒मु॒र्मा वः॑ सि॒न्धु॒र्नि

रौ॒र॒मत् । मा वः॑ प॒रि॒ छात् स॒रयुः॑ पु॒री॒षि॒ष्म॒स्मे इ॒त्सु॒ज॒मस्तु॑ वः ॥, where only western rivers are mentioned. No other river name

occurs in the Śyāvāśva collection. The Yamúnā of V, 52, 17 cannot therefore be the Jumna. It must be either the Parúṣṇī or some river that has joined it.

If a guess may be hazarded here, I might say that the Yamúnā was the Asiknī (= 'Black' according to Yaska IX, 26) or Chenab.¹ The later Jumna is also a 'black river.'² The Dāsarājña battle may therefore have been fought on a spot lying between the Ravi and the Chenab. This supposition would give a good explanation for "सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचोः," VII, 18, 6. I cannot just now identify the Saráyu in V, 53, 9, but it is certainly not the river later famous in Oudh.³ पुरीषिणी⁴ is supposed⁴ to be an adjective to Saráyu, which is very likely. But can it be a variant (perhaps a learned form) for परूषिणी? The shifting of the accent would explain at least the syncope.

III

I have tried to show that with one single exception (III, 23, 4) the family books of the Ṛgveda mean by सरस्वती¹ the river Indus and it is in the Tenth Maṇḍala that सरस्वती¹ always means the 'Sarsuti.' I shall now try to explain why III, 23, 4, though belonging to a fairly early family collection gives to the word the meaning it bore in later times.

The explanation probably lies in III, 33, a hymn which contains a dialogue between the rivers Vipāś (Beas) and Śutudrī (Sutlej) on one side and Viśvāmitra wishing to cross

¹ According to Roth and Stein; see the latter's paper on River-names in the Ṛgveda in the Bhandarkar Commemoration volume.

² It is also known as कालिन्दी.

³ One however feels tempted to think of the Avestan Haroyu (modern Hari-rud).

⁴ Sāyana on V, 53, 9 and Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, 541.

them with the Bharatas 'eager for conquest' on the other. The hymn is highly interesting from literary as well as historical points of view and I shall therefore quote it in full. But I shall discuss only those portions of it which are relevant to the present subject. The hymn is :

(Viśvāmītra) प्र पर्व॑तानामु॒श॒ती उप॒स्थाद॒ग्ने इव॑ वि॒षिते॑ हा॒स॒माने ।

गा॒वेव॑ शु॒भ्रे मा॒तरा रि॒हाणे॑ वि॒पाट॒कुतु॒द्री पय॑सा ज॒वेते ॥१॥

इन्द्रे॑षिते प्रस॒वं भि॒क्षमा॒णे अ॒च्छा स॒मुद्रं॑ र॒थ्येव॑ याथः ।

स॒मा॒रा॒णे ऊ॒र्मिभिः॑ पि॒न्वमा॒ने अ॒न्या वा॒म॒न्याम॒प्येति॑ शु॒भ्रे ॥२॥

अ॒च्छा सि॒न्धु मा॒तृत॑मा॒मया॒सं वि॒पाश॑सु॒वीं सु॒भगा॑म॒गन्ध॑ ।

व॒त्स॒मिव॑ मा॒तरा सं॒रि॒हाणे॑ स॒मानं॑ यो॒निम॑नु स॒ञ्चर॑न्ती ॥३॥

(Rivers) ए॒ना वयं॑ पय॒सा पि॒न्वमा॒ना अ॒नु यो॒निं दे॒व॒कृतं॑ च॒रन्तीः॑ ।

न वर्त॑वे प्रस॒वः सर्ग॑त॒क्तः किं॒युर्विप्रो॑ न॒द्यो जो॒ह्वीति॑ ॥४॥

(Viśva.) रम॑ध्वं मे वच॒से सो॒म्याय॑ ऋ॒ताव॑रीरुप॒मुद्ध॑र्त॒मेवैः॑ ।

प्र सि॒न्धुम॑च्छा ह॒हती॑ म॒नीषा॑वस्युर॒द्धे कु॒शिक॑स्य स॒नुः ॥५॥

(Riv.) इन्द्रो॑ अ॒र्क्षा अ॒रद॑ह॒ज्जबा॒हुर॑पा॒हन्व॑त्रं परि॒धिं न॒दीना॑म् ।

दे॒वोऽन॑यत्स॒विता॑ सु॒पाणि॑स्तस्य॒ वयं॑ प्रस॒वे या॒म उ॒र्वीः ॥६॥

प्र॒वा॒ण्यं श॒श॒धा वी॒र्यं॑ १ तदिन्द्र॑स्य॒ कर्म॑ यद॒हिं वि॒वृ॒णत् ।

वि व॒र्ज॑ण॒ परि॒षदो॑ ज॒घा॒नाय॑न्नापोऽ॒नमि॑च्छ॒मानाः॑ ॥७॥

ए॒तद्व॑चो॒ जरि॑त॒र्मापि॑ नृ॒ष्टा आ॒ यत्ते॑ घो॒षानु॑त्तरा॒ युगा॑नि ।

उ॒क्थे॑षु॒ कारो॑ प्रति॒ नो शु॒षस्व॒ मा नो॒ नि कः॑ पु॒रुष॑त्रा नम॒स्ते ॥८॥

(Viśvā.) ओ षु स्वसारः कारवे शृणोत ययौ वो दूरादनसा रथेन ।

नि षू नमध्वं भवता सुपारा अधोघ्नाः सिन्धवः स्रोत्याभिः ॥८॥

(Riv.) आ ते कारो शृणवामा वचांसि ययाथ दूरादनसा रथेन ।

नि ते नंसे पीप्यानेव योषा मर्यायेव कन्या शश्वचै ते ॥१०॥

(Viśvā.) यदङ्ग त्वा भरताः सन्तरियुर्गव्यन् ग्राम इषित इन्द्रजुतः ।

अर्षादह प्रसवः सर्गतक्त आ वो हणे सुमतिं यन्नियानाम् ॥११॥

अतारिषुर्भरता गव्यवः समभक्त विप्रः सुमतिं नदीनाम् ।

प्र पिन्ध्वमिषयन्तीः सुराधा आ वक्षणाः पृणध्वं यात शीभम् ॥१२॥

उह ऊर्मिः शम्या इन्त्वापो योक्ताणि सुक्षत । मादुष्कतौ व्यनसाघ्नौ शूनमारताम् ॥

१३॥

The hymn shows that Viśvāmitra helped the Bharatas in crossing the Beas and the Sutlej, that these Bharatas had come from a great distance (“ययौ वो दूरादनसा रथेन” “ययाथ दूरादनसा रथेन”) and that they were out for conquest. It is possible that King Sudās was among these Bharatas, as the words of Yāska (“विश्वामित्र ऋषिः सुदासः पैजवनस्य पुरोहितो बभूव स वित्तं गृहीत्वा विपाटकुतुद्रोः सम्भेदमा ययौ अनुययुरितरे स विश्वामित्रो नदीकुष्टाव गाधा भवत इति ” Nir. II. 24) seem to suggest. Brhaddevatā IV. 106, “पुरोहितः सन्नियार्थं सुदासा सह यन्नृषिः, विपाटकुतुद्रोः सम्भेदं शमित्येते उवाच ह ॥” supplies a commentary on Yāska's words and makes it probable that Sudās was among the number. That Sudās was a Bharata as well as a Trtsu cannot be doubted by any Vedic scholar¹ to-day, whatever

¹ One scholar has however chosen to doubt the identity of the Bharatas with the Trtsus in the Calcutta Review for November, 1923,

Roth, Muir, Kaegi and Zimmer writing quite a long time ago, may have said. That the Bharatas were marching for conquest (or perhaps colonisation) is clearly established by भरताः...गव्यन् ग्रामः in verse 11 and भरता गव्यवः in verse 12. गव्यन् means 'wishing for cows'. Sāyaṇa takes 'गो' to mean 'water' and renders गव्यन् by 'wishing' (to cross) the river. But this meaning is without any warrant. 'गोः' does not mean 'water'; even the Nighantū and the Nirukta do not ¹ include 'water' among the many (?) meanings of the word. 'To cross' too is a gratuitous assumption. But Sāyaṇa has correctly ² interpreted गव्यवः in verse 12 by 'गाः ग्रामानि इच्छन्तः' ('wishing to possess cows'). 'Wishing to possess cows' meant 'wishing to conquer other peoples' possessions'. The cow was the principal wealth in those days and she was also the objective of the enemy's attack. The king was called the गोपा (literally 'Protector of Cows') and the word also came to mean simply 'a protector' without any special reference to cows. Readers of the Mahābhārata will recall to their minds the story of the Kaurava attack on the cow-stalls of Kīrātā.

The question now arises, from which side did Sudās and the Bharatas cross the Beas and the Sutlej for this forage?

pp. 157-58. But see my reply in the August, 1924 number of the same Journal. Dr. Das's reply to my criticisms (pp. 373-384, C. R., August, 1924) only obscures the issue by a flourish of rhetoric and display of temper (pp. 374-8).

¹ But Durgācārya on Nir. VI. 2 renders गव्यम् of Yāska by अपाम्. We are however not to conclude from this that he took 'गो' to be a synonym for 'water'. The Rgvedic passage (III. 30. 10) on which Yāska is commenting means by 'गो' 'rain-waters' but that only metaphorically. Durgā therefore did not give a synonym but the meaning of the word divested of metaphor.

² Similar words इव्यवः, अवस्यवः etc., are so frequent in the R. V., that Sāyaṇa could not misunderstand the sense of गव्यवः. अगव्य is perhaps the only word of this type which has survived in classical Sanskrit.

Professors Macdonell and Keith¹ have supposed that they came from Kurukṣetra and crossed the rivers from the East. But what is more probable is that the rivers were forded from the west and the Bharatas came from the western parts of the Punjab. Viśvāmitra led them across the Sutlej and they probably settled near Kurukṣetra. They may have transferred to a river in their new home the proud name of 'Sārasvatī'. As the Bharatas were in later times most honoured of all the Aryan tribes² and as other tribes probably followed in their wake and joined them in their new home³ it was this stream which in later times exclusively⁴ received the name of Sārasvatī. The Bharatas had dubbed the river "सरस्वती" and there is nothing surprising therefore in the two Bharata princes' referring to this stream by "सरस्वताम्" in III. 23. 4. This passage only shows that the Bharatas called the river "Sārasvatī." But by the time of R. V. X. 75, even persons belonging to the extreme west of the Punjab knew it by that name and the river Indus by its other name सिन्धु "Sindhu" alone.

These suppositions can give a satisfactory explanation of many problems of the R̥gveda. On what grounds I have come to such conclusions I shall try to show in the following part of the paper. I shall then fully discuss the personal history of King Sudās and his relations with the Bharadvājas, the Vasiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitras, questions which are still highly obscure. If I can convince my readers of the

¹ Vedic Index II, pp. 310, 436

² Cf. Vedic Index II, pp. 96-97.

³ The name Pañcāla shows a fusion of five tribes and the fact that there was a rivalry between the Kurus and the Pañcālas makes us assume an old hostility. See below. [Waddell's "able Panch" is based on an etymology which is not even of the type satirised by Voltaire.]

⁴ But compare ब्रह्मवत कुक्षये चोत्सले पुनरेति वा etc., quoted above.

plausibility of my account, the correctness of the interpretation I have put on III. 33 and III. 23 will follow as a matter of course. And the proposed identification of the "Sárasvati" in the earlier portions of the R̥gveda (particularly in Maṇḍalas VI and VII) will be then placed beyond all doubts.

IV

King Sudās has been called in the R̥gveda Paijavana. Yaska in the Nirukta passage (II. 24) referred to above, "पैजवनः पिजवनस्य पुत्रः", says that Pijavana was the name of Sudās's father. King Divodāsa is also mentioned as the ancestor of Sudās. Professors Macdonell and Keith ¹ incline towards the view that Divodāsa was the grandfather of Sudās, and Pijavana his father. Their reasons for this supposition fail to convince me. R. V. VII. 18-22 mentions Paijavana Sudās as the *náptṛ* of Devávant : हे नमृदेववतः शते गोर्हा रथा वधूमन्ता सुदासः ।

अह्नन्ने पैजवनस्य दानं होतिव सद्य पयमि रेभन् ॥ Devávant seems to be used here for Divodāsa. ² नमृ; probably means 'of the son' for 'son' is the usual meaning of the word नमृ or नपात् in the R̥gveda. But even if the later meaning of 'grandson' be put on the word, as Sāyaṇa has done (देववतो राज्ञो नमृः वैत्रस्य), how will Professors Macdonell and Keith explain the concluding verse of the hymn "इमं नरो मरुतः सस्यतातु दिवीदासं न पितरं सुदासः । अविष्टन पैजवनस्य केतं दूणाशं सत्रम् अजरं दुवोयु ॥" where Divodāsa is explicitly called the father (पिता) of Sudās? This passage clearly establishes that Divodāsa was the father and not grandfather of Sudās. As regards Pijavana he may have been the same person as Divodāsa as

¹ Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 363, Vol. II, pp. 24 and 454.

² Compare names like गजसाहय (for हस्तिनापुर) in the later literature.

Geldner ¹ supposes or he may have been some remote ancestor. Divodāsa is connected with the Bharadvājas in Maṇḍala VI and Sudāsa with the Vasiṣṭhas in Maṇḍala VII. But why should that constitute any difficulty? We know Sudāsa had connexions with the Viśvāmitras too. Is it therefore impossible for him to take as priests a family distinct from the one which served his father? I believe that Sudāsa inherited both his father's throne and his father's priest but he soon exchanged the Bharadvāja for a Vasiṣṭha priest. He must have earned the hatred of the Bharadvājas for this desertion and it is thinkable that the Bharadvājas tried to avenge themselves on him. In the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa XXVI. 5 and Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad III. 1 we read of a Pratardana, son of Divodāsa. If this Divodāsa is the same person as Sudāsa's father, Pratardana would become either Sudāsa himself or a brother of his. The latter seems more likely². Now we read in the Kāthaka Saṃhitā XXI. 10, "एतेन ह आ वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं संनहन् एति ततो वै स राष्ट्रम् अभवत्", that Pratardana was aided by a Bharadvāja in the attaining of a glorious kingdom. We have also in the Ṛgveda VI. 26. 8, "प्रातर्दनिः च॒व्र॒त्र्योर॑स्तु शे॒ष्टो घ॒ने वृ॒त्राणां॑ स॒नये॑ ध॒नाना॑म्", a son of Pratardana as the protégé of a Bharadvāja. It is therefore thinkable that when Sudāsa took a Vasiṣṭha to his services, the Bharadvājas became angry and set up his brother Pratardana as a rival claimant to the throne and the Kāthaka passage may be possibly referring to this.

Before passing on to Vasiṣṭha I must say a few words about the tribal relations of Sudāsa. I have already said that I accept the views of Professors Geldner, Macdonell and Keith and other recent workers in the field of Vedic antiquities about the relations between the Trtsus and the Bharatas.

¹ Rigveda in Auswahl I. 115.

² Why else is he not mentioned even once in Maṇḍalas III and VII?

I shall now try to show that the Tṛtsu-Bharatas were also related to the Pūrus. In the R̥gveda, the 'Five Peoples' are frequently mentioned. Aupamanyava's explanation "चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चमः" ¹ for the term पञ्चजनाः is impossible to follow. Zimmer's view that the Five People were the Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyus and Pūrus is the most likely one. These five must have been the principal Aryan tribes. Of them the Pūrus may have been the most noted people. We know that the later Purāṇas make Pūru the youngest son of king Yayāti but most favoured by his father and they trace the descent of the later noble family of Bharatas and Kauravas from this Pūru. Now in the R̥gveda there are sufficient indications for connecting the Tṛtsu-Bharatas with the Pūrus. Thus we have an exact parallel for (or rather an echo of) R. V. VI. 20. 10 "सनेम तेऽवसा नय्य इन्द्र प्र पूरवः स्ववन्त एना यज्ञैः । सप्त यत्पुनः शर्म शारदीर्द्धन् दासीः पुरुकुत्साय शिञ्चन् ॥" in I. 63.7 "त्वं ह त्वदिन्द्र सप्त शुध्यन्पुरो वज्रिन् पुरुकुत्साय दर्दः । बर्हिर्न यत्सुदासे ह्यथा वर्गहो राजन् वरिवः पूरवे कः ॥" connecting which two passages we may infer that the Tṛtsu-Bharata Sudās had some relation with the Pūrus. More explicit is I. 130. 7, 'भिनत्पुरो नवतिमिन्द्र पूरवे दिवोदासाय महि दाशुषे नृतो वज्रिण दाशुषे नृतो । अतिथिम्वाय शम्बरं गिरिर्द्यो अवाभरत् । महो धनानि दयमान भोजसा विश्वा

¹ Quoted in the Nirukta III. 8. Sāyana follows this explanation. Professors Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index I, 467) have misunderstood Yāska. When Yāska writes गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसोऽपि (‘thus some think’) he does not hold this view himself. His own view must be the same as that of Aupamanyava who was probably a Nairukta (Etymologist),

धनान्योजसा ॥”, where Paruccheṣa Daivodāsi actually calls Divodāsa Atithigva a Pūru. If पतिथिन्वाय in the third line is in apposition with दिवोदासाय in the first, there is no reason why पूरवे immediately before दिवोदासाय should not be taken as its adjective. This is a very old testimony. The Paruccheṣa Daivodāsa collection is perhaps as early as the Bharadvāja collection or Vasiṣṭha collection.¹ I cannot therefore help concluding that the Tṛtsu-Bharatas were a section of the old family of Pūrus. The “sudden disappearance of the name of the Pūrus from Vedic tradition”² may be better accounted for by supposing that the glory of the Pūrus was eclipsed by their near kinsmen, the Bharatas.³ But the Purāṇas derive the famous Kurus by direct descent from the Pauravas. It is possible that the Pūrus and Tṛtsu-Bharatas again became one people, a supposition which would explain the name Bhāratas given to Kauravas.⁴

But Sudās must have thrown off the allegiance that he owed to the Pūru chief which may have led to the confederacy of Ten Kings against him. The Dāśarājna hymn (R. V. VII. 18) is very, very obscure and I cannot claim to have fully understood it. But I think that this explanation for the

¹ See E. V. Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, pp. 48, 171, 272, 278-280, 294.

² *Vedic Index* II. 12.

³ See further below.

⁴ The Purāṇas are probably wrong in thinking that the name भारत is derived from king Bharata, son of Duṣyanta. The Tṛtsus probably correspond to the Kāśi dynasty of the Purāṇas. The Brahma Purāṇa and the Harivaṃśa trace the ancestry of the Kāśi line to the Pauravas. Though Pargiter (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 101) following other Purāṇas refuses to accept this connexion, I cannot help following it as it accords with the R̥gveda as we have understood it,

origin of the battle can suit our texts. In VII. 18. 13 “वि
सद्यो वि॒ष्ठा दृ॒ष्टान्येषा॒मिन्द्रः पु॒रः स॒हसा स॒प्त द॑दः । व्या॒नव॒स्य दृ॒क्ष्वे ग॑यं

भा॒ग॒ जेष॑ पू॒रं वि॒दधे॑ स॒ध्रवा॑चम् ॥” Vasiṣṭha exults over the points gained by his Tṛtsu favourite (Sudās) and expresses a hope that the Pūru may be conquered by these efforts. And in

VII. 8. 4 “प्र प्रा॒यम॒ग्निर्भ॑र॒तस्य॑ शृ॒द्धे वि॒यत्सू॒र्यो न रो॑चते बृ॒हन्नाः । अ॒भि

यः पू॒रं पृ॒तना॑सु त॒स्यै द्यु॒तानो॑ दै॒व्यो अ॒तिथिः॑ शु॒शोच॑ ॥”, the Pūru chief is said to have been conquered. Combining these two statements I come to the conclusion that the conquest of the Pūru was contingent on the overthrow of the confederacy of Ten Kings and was assured when that was achieved. A Bharadvāja, instead of a Viśvāmitra, may have instigated this confederacy against Vasiṣṭha’s patron. The Pūru has been sneeringly called ‘of unavailing speech in prayer or worship’ (पू॒रं वि॒दधे॑

स॒ध्रवा॑चम्) in VII. 18. 13, probably because his Bharadvāja priest could not save him from the skilful manœuvre of Sudās guarded by the prayers of Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja’s new rival. The sympathy of the Bharadvājas for the Pūrus is clearly indicated in VI. 20.10, quoted above. The issue of the Dāśarājña battle is viewed by the Bharadvājas in a different light. In the general overthrow whole armies were destroyed and great was the carnage. But the Yadus and Turvaśas may have escaped by crossing the river¹ and precipitate flight. The Bharadvājas who have been alienated from Sudās and are probably supporters of his present adversary, the Pūru chief, cannot but feel sympathy for the confederates of the Pūrus and we twice find them thanking Indra for saving the Yadus and

¹ See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, pp. 315-6 ; II, p. 185.

Turvaśas : “त्व॑ धु॒निरिन्द्र॑ धु॒निमती॑र्त्त॒णोर॑पः सी॒रा न स॑वन्तीः ।
प्र॒यत्सु॑द्र॒मति॑ शूर॒ पवि॑ पार॒या तु॒वेश॑ यदु॒ स्व॑स्ति ॥ ६।२०।१२ ॥ and “य
आ॒नय॑त्परा॒वतः सु॒नीती॑ तु॒र्वश॑ यदु॒म् । इन्द्रः॑ स नो॒ युवा॑ सखा ॥” ६।४५।१॥

I shall have to notice here a few points in connexion with VII. 83. The Dāśarājña battle is referred to in verse 8 and it is very likely that the whole hymn alludes only to that victory. We should therefore take the first verse “युवा॑ नरा॒ पश्य॑मानास॒ आ॒प्य॑ प्रा॒चा ग॒व्यन्तः॑ पृथ॒पश्य॑वो ययुः । दा॒सा च॑ वृ॒द्धा ह॒तमा॑र्याणि च सु॒दास॑मिन्द्राव॒रुणा॑वशि॒क्षतम्॑ ॥ to refer to the same incident. “प्रा॒चा ग॒व्यन्ती॑ ययुः” has been translated by Griffith ‘went forward for spoil’. But ‘went eastwards for spoil’ would be more correct and that is how Sāyaṇa takes it. It was probably from the extreme west of the Punjab that Vasiṣṭha had brought his patron Sudās. R. V. VII. 96.2 “उ॒भे य॑त्ते म॒हिना॑ शु॒भ्रे अ॒न्वसी॑ अ॒धि क्षि॑यन्ति॒ पू॒र्वः” places the Pūrus on the two coasts (अ॒न्वसी॑ = ‘grassy banks’ according to Grassmann and Griffith) of the Śārasvatī which, I have tried to show above, meant in the Seventh Maṇḍala the river Indus.³ The Dāśarājña battle was probably fought near the junction of the Pāruṣṇī and the

¹ सु॒द्र etymologically means ‘collection of waters’ and I have already thrown out the suggestion that the Dāśarājña battle was fought at the confluence of the Chenab and the Ravi between the two rivers. Sudās safely crossed the rivers but his pursuers were drowned, a fate from which the Yadus and Turvaśas may have managed to escape.

² Mr. Ramāprasād Chanda’s interpretation in his “Indo-Aryan Races” of the R̥gvedic references to the safe crossing of the Yadus and Turvaśas, though highly original, cannot suit the texts of the R̥gveda. The view that Professors Macdonell and Keith have advocated on this difficult question seems quite plausible to me. See the articles on Turvaśa and Yadu in the Vedic Index.

³ Regarding vegetation on the coasts of the Indus in ancient times, I may refer my readers to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, pp. 28-29 referred to above.

Yamúnā (=Asiknī=Chenab ?)¹. Before passing on to the incidents in the subsequent life of Sudās, I must notice another point in connection with R. V. VII. 83. In the 8th verse, “दाशराज्ञे परियन्ताय विखतः सुदास इन्द्रावरुणावशिष्यतम् । शिख्यशो यत्र नमसा कपर्दिनी धिया धीवन्तो असपन्त दृत्सवः ॥” the Vasiṣṭhas call themselves Tṛtsus. Does this mean that they actually belonged to the Tṛtsu family ? I think not. They were now partisans of Tṛtsus and hence they characterise themselves as Tṛtsus. We have an exact parallel in VI. 16.4 “त्वामीळं अधिहिता भरतो वाजिभिः शुनम् । ईजे यज्ञेषु यज्ञियम् ॥” where the Bharadvāja priest calls himself a Bharata because he is serving the Bharata (Tṛtsu-Bharata) Divodāsa.²

The Vasiṣṭhas were not destined to enjoy long the bounty of king Sudās for the Viśvāmitras managed to step into their shoes. If we study R. V. III. 53 and VII. 104 in the light of the later Brāhmaṇa and Epic legends about the conflicts of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra we cannot help concluding that Viśvāmitra snatched away the *paurohitya* of Sudās from the Vasiṣṭhas and the Vasiṣṭhas tried to avenge themselves for this offence. Whatever may be the exact value of the legend in the Bṛhaddevatā IV, 112-118, it is certain that Viśvāmitra is alluding to a magical effect that had come over him and his recovery from it in R.V. III. 53.15 and 16 : “ससर्परीरमतिं बाधमाना बृहन्निमाय जमदग्निदत्ता । आ सूर्यस्य दुहिता ततान् अवी देवेष्वमृतमनुयम् ॥ ससर्परीरभरत्तूयमेभ्योऽधि अवः पाञ्चजनासु

¹ See above.

² Compare VI. 16.5 त्वमिमां वाणीं पुरु दिवीदासाय इत्यन्ते भरताज्ञाय दास्यते ॥

कृष्टिषु! सा पथ्या३ नव्यमायुर्दधाना यां मे पलस्तिजमदग्नयो ददुः॥

The author of the magic may well have been a Vasiṣṭha and it is conceivable that Viśvāmitra is cursing these Vasiṣṭhas in verses 21-23 of R. V. III. 53. It is also conceivable that the Vasiṣṭhas are trying to exculpate themselves and to throw back the curse on its author in VII. 104. 12, 15-25. But the Vasiṣṭhas had lost the favour of Sudās for ever and we may possibly read a lament for this fate and a wish to regain their old importance in VII. 64. 3 “मित्रस्तत्रो

वरुणो देवो अर्यः प्र साधिष्ठेभिः पथिभिर्नयन्तु । ब्रवद्यथा न आदरिः सुदास इषा मदेम सह देवगोपाः॥” It is probably this wish which in later legends¹ takes the form of Vaiṣṭha’s successful attempt to avenge himself on the descendants of Sudās.

R. V. III. 53 probably describes what Viśvāmitra did after recovering from his swoon (?). He must have led on Sudās for conquest of new lands as is evidenced by verse 11 :

उप प्रेत कुशिकाश्चेतयध्वम् अश्वं राये प्र मुञ्चता सुदासः । राजा ह्रवं जह्वन्तप्रागपागुदगथा यजते वर आ पृथिव्याः॥ It is to lands of prosperous non-Aryans who did not worship the Vedic gods that Viśvāmitra wanted to lead Sudās. Compare verse 14 :

“किं ते कृष्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशिरं दुह्ने न तपन्ति घर्मम् । आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो नैचाशाखं मघवन् रन्धया नः॥”² R. V. III. 53.

¹ Taittiriya Saṃhitā, VII. 4-7. Sūṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, IV. 8. Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, IV. 7. 3.

² Dr. Abinas Chandra Das in his Rigvedic India, Vol. 1., p. 8 (and 561) says that Kikaṭa was a barren land where the cattle could not thrive for want of fodder! Exactly opposite is the view that our text warrants. Dr. Das has overlooked the small but important enclitic ‘ते’ (= ‘for thee’). The cattle wealth of the Kikaṭas tempted Viśvāmitra and he prays to Indra

17-20 refer to the march of Viśvāmitra and Sudās and in the concluding verse we have a vaunt of Viśvāmitra. The verse is “इ॒म इन्द्र॑ भर॒तस्य॑ पु॒त्रा अप॑पि॒त्रं चि॑कि॒तुर्न प्र॑पि॒त्रम् । हि॒न्वत्य॒श्वम॑रणं न॒ नित्यं॑ अ॒थावाजं॑ परि॒णय॑त्या॒जौ ॥” which probably means that prior to Viśvāmitra’s aid the Bharatas knew only how to retreat (अप॒पि॒त्रम्) and not how to advance (प्र॒पि॒त्रम्). We have here probably a sneer at Sudās’s victory at the Dāśa-rājña battle which was perhaps due to a strategic retreat in the form of crossing the rivers Páruṣṇī and Yamúnā and not to any forward charge, the enemy who had hemmed in Sudās from all sides themselves being carried away by the current. This is probably what the obscure Dāśarājña hymn (VII. 18) means.

Leading Sudās for conquest of new lands, Viśvāmitra probably brought him to the junction of the Vipās and the Śítudrī. I have already discussed III. 33, the hymn which gives a dialogue between Viśvāmitra and the two rivers. It is probably to the incident contained in this hymn that III.

53.9 “म॒ह्यं ऋ॑षि॒दे॒वजा॑ दे॒वजु॒तोऽस्त॒भ्रास्मि॑न्मु॒र्णवं॑ नृ॒चक्षाः॑ । वि॒श्वामि॑त्रो यद॒वह॑त्सु॒दास॑म॒प्रिया॑यत॒ कु॒शिके॑भि॒रिन्द्रः॑ ॥” makes a reference.

Sāyaṇa paraphrases सि॒न्नुम् by वि॒पाट्शु॒तद्रोः स॒न्धेदम् and he is most probably right. But little value attaches to his paraphrase of अव॑हत् by अ॒याज॑यत्. It is possible that III. 53 is a contemporary account and by Viśvāmitra himself but III. 33 comes from a descendant of Viśvāmitra who gives a dramatic account of the glorious achievement of his illustrious

that his Aryan worshipper might obtain it—professedly for offering the milk to Indra but actually for personal enjoyment. Dr. Das’s mistake, which, it is much to be regretted, he has repeated elsewhere, is due to the fact that he studies verses of the Ṛgveda dissociating them from their contexts.

ancestor. But it may be safer not to dogmatise on the point. I cannot help believing that Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas crossed the rivers Vipāś and Sútudrī from north-west and not from the south-east. After reaching the land later known as Kurukṣetra the Bharatas may have permanently settled there. And we therefore find them located there in later texts. The Bharatas may have given to a rather insignificant stream in their new home the old proud name of Sārasvatī and small wonder that we find two Bharata chiefs speaking of the Sārasvatī in R. V. 23.4 in the same breath with the Dṛśadvatī and the Āpayā. In still later times the usage of the famous Bharatas made this small stream alone go by the name of Sārasvatī and the Indus lost that old name. We find therefore in R. V. X. 75 the Indus called "Sīndhu" and this small stream in the Madhyadeśa "Sārasvatī".

N.B.—Muir in his Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I¹, pp. 373-4 quotes Weber's emphasis on the later disrepute of Sudās among the sacredotal class. I think this is adequately explained by the account I have given above of Sudās's treatment of his priests. He abandons his hereditary priests the Bharadvājas for a new family, the Vasiṣṭhas, and these Vasiṣṭhas too in favour of Viśvāmitra who probably did not belong to an old priestly family. There may be some truth in the later legend that Viśvāmitra belonged to a family of Kṣatriyas.² Priests would naturally speak ill of such a king,

¹ Compare Manu, VII. 41 : "वैनी विनष्टो विनयाद्भुवश्चैव पार्थिवः । सुखाः पेजवनश्च सुमुखो निमिरिव च ॥

² One reason which inclines me to accept this tradition is that the Viśvāmitra Maṇḍala shows language and metres distinctly later than those of the old priestly families of the Bharadvājas and the Vasiṣṭhas. See Arnold's Vedic Metre, pp. 48, 275, 278-28. But the contents of the Third Maṇḍala and the Seventh Maṇḍala are not such that they must needs be separated in time. The most natural explanation for this seems to my mind to be that the Viśvāmitras had taken to verse-making only recently and they therefore could not write in the hieratic language and the antique metres.

especially in later times when their caste pretensions were so generally recognised.

यम् अस्तु

which the Atris, Bharadvājas and Vasisthas could employ.—Viśvāmitra would thus become a new 'Brahmán' (ब्रह्मा), in the old sense of the term (= 'singer', 'praiser') if not in its later sense, (= a Brahmin). Viśvāmitra vaunts of his glorious priestly ancestry in III. 39 (compare particular verses 2 and 4, 'दिवशि॒दा पू॒ष्यी जा॒यमा॒ना वि जा॒गर्वि॒र्वि॒दधे॑ य॒स्यमा॒ना । भ॒द्रा व॒स्रा॒ण्यकु॑ना व॒स॒ना से॒यम॒जे स॒न॒जा पि॒त्राधीः॑ ॥२॥ न॒कि॒रिषां॑ नि॒न्दिता॑ म॒त्येषु॑ ये अ॒स्याधे॑ पि॒तरो॑ गो॒षु यो॒धाः । इ॒न्द्र एषां॑ ह॒विता॑ मा॒हिना॒ व॒नु॒रीचा॑णि स॒सृजे॑ दं॒स॒नावा॑न् ॥४॥') simply to impress on people that he was no upstart. But an upstart he probably was in reality for it is to Nāvagvas and Daságvas, a semimythical race of priests, that he can trace his ancestry.

সাক্ষ্যকরতত্ত্ব

[বর্তমান প্রবন্ধে নিম্নলিখিত সাক্ষ্যকর- ও চিহ্ন-গুলি প্রযুক্ত হইয়াছে :—

অথ.= অথর্ববেদসংহিতা, অথ.প্রা.= অথর্বপ্রাতিশাখ্য, অব.= অবস্থা, আ.
আরবী, আর.= আর্মেনীয় (Armenian), ইং.= ইংরাজী, ঋ.= ঋগ্বেদ, ঋ.প্রা.
= ঋগ্বেদপ্রাতিশাখ্য, এ.= এলু, অর্থাৎ প্রাচীন শুদ্ধ সিংহলী, ও.= ওড়িয়া, ক.বু.
= কচ্ছারনবৃত্তি, গু.= গুজরাতী, গ্রী.= গ্রীক, চর্যাচর্য.= চর্যাচর্যবিশিষ্ট, জা.=
জার্মানী (German), তৈ.প্রাতি.= তৈত্তিরীয় প্রাতিশাখ্য, তৈ.ত্রা.= তৈত্তিরীয়
ব্রাহ্মণ, তৈ.স.= তৈত্তিরীয় সংহিতা, প.= পঞ্জাবী, পা.= পালি, পানি.= পাণিনি,
প্রা.= প্রাকৃত, প্রা.পার.= প্রাচীন পারসীক বা ফারসী, প্রা.পি.= প্রাকৃতপিঙ্গল
(Bibliotheca Indica), প্রা.বুল.= প্রাচীন বুলগেরী (Old Bulgarian), প্রা.স্লাব.
= প্রাচীন স্লাবী (Old Slavonic), ফা.= ফারসী, ব্রা.= ব্রাহ্মণ, ম.= মরাঠী,
লা.= লাতিন (Latin), ব. সা. প.= বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্যপরিষৎ, বা.প্রাতি.=
বাজসনেয়প্রাতিশাখ্য, শুভ.= শুভচন্দ্রকৃত প্রাকৃতব্যাকরণ (পুঁথী),
ত্রীকৃষ্ণ.= ত্রীকৃষ্ণকৌর্টন, সি.= সিন্ধী, সিং.= সিংহলী, হিন্দ-ইউ.= হিন্দ-ইউরোপীয়
(Indo-European), হি.= হিন্দী, হেম.= হেমচন্দ্রকৃত প্রাকৃত- ব্যাকরণ।

কোনো স্বরের উপর ছোট্ট একটু দাঁড়ি (') থাকিলে (যেমন, ই, উ)
জানিতে হইবে যে, তাহা হ্রস্বতম, এবং তাহা পূর্নস্বরের সহিত একত্র এক অক্ষরে
(Syllable) উচ্চারিত হয়। যেমন, লা উ, এখানে শেষের উকার পূর্নের আকারের
সঙ্গে একই অক্ষরে উচ্চারিত।

কোনো ব্যঞ্জননের উপর ঠিক এইরূপ একটু দাঁড়ি থাকিলে (যেমন, ল) ঐ বর্ণস্থিত
অকারকে হ্রস্বতম ওকার বলিয়া জানিতে হইবে। যেমন, ক লি, ভা ল, এখানে ককার
ও লকারে স্থিত অকার বস্তুত হ্রস্বতম ওকার, ইহা ঠিক অকারও নহে ওকারও নহে।

স্থানে-স্থানে পদস্থিত অক্ষর- (Syllable) সমূহকে পৃথক করিয়া দেখাইবার
জন্ত প্রত্যেক অক্ষরের পর (-) হাইফেন দেওয়া হইয়াছে। যেমন, ক-ম-ল-, এখানে

তিনটি বর্ণে স্থিত তিনটি স্বররূপ অক্ষর ; পাগ-লা-, এখানে পা গ এই অংশে আকার-রূপ একটি, আর লা এই অংশেও আকাররূপ একটি, মোট দুইটি অক্ষর। ইহা ছাড়া হাইফেনের সাধারণ প্রয়োগও আছে।

স্থানে-স্থানে পদস্থিত গ্রন্থ বা অক্ষুচ্যুত স্বরকে বুঝাইবার জন্ত বর্ণের পরে একটি ফুটকি (.) দেওয়া হইয়াছে। যেমন, পা গ. লা, এখানে গকারের পর ফুটকি থাকায় বুঝিতে হইবে যে, গকার-স্থিত অকারের উচ্চারণ হয় না। অপর কথায় হসন্ত চিহ্নের যে কাজ, এই ফুটকিরও অনেকটা সেই কাজ।

কোনো বর্ণের (স্বরের) নীচে (-) এইরূপ চিহ্ন থাকিলে বুঝিতে হইবে যে, তাহার উচ্চারণ তির্ধ্যক ভাবে হইবে। যেমন, টা টা, এখানে বুঝিতে হইবে আকারের উচ্চারণ বাঙলায় উচ্চারিত এক শব্দের একারের, অথবা ইংরাজী hand শব্দের 'a'র মত।]

১। আজ আমি একার, ওকার, ঐকার, ও ঔকারের, এবং বিশেষত একারের কথা বলিব।

অনেকেই, বিশেষত ধাহারা সংস্কৃত ব্যাকরণের সামাজ্যও সংবাদ রাখেন তাঁহারা জানেন যে, ইহারি কোনো স্বতন্ত্র মূল স্বর নহে। ইহারি দুই-দুইটি স্বরের একত্র মিলনে উৎপন্ন হইয়াছে। তাই ব্যাকরণের ভাষায় ইহাদের নাম সন্ধ্যাক্ষর অর্থাৎ 'সন্ধিজাত অক্ষর।' সন্ধি বিশ্লেষণ করিলেই ইহাদের স্বরূপ ধরিতে পারা যায়। সন্ধির সাধারণ নিয়ম হইতেছে :—

$$(১) অ + ই = এ$$

$$(২) অ + উ = ও$$

$$(৩) অ + ঐ = ঐ$$

$$(৪) অ + ঔ = ঔ$$

২। আমরা, বাঙালীরা, যে ভাবে এই সন্ধ্যাক্ষর কয়টিকে উচ্চারণ করি, তাহাতে ঐ, ঔ এই দুইটি মাত্র অক্ষরের উচ্চারণে বুঝা যায় যে, ইহারি দুইটি দুই-দুই অক্ষরের

১। এখানে অ, ই, উ বলিতে ইহাদের দীর্ঘ রূপও (আ, ঈ, ঊ) বুঝিতে হইবে। যথা—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} অ + ই \\ আ + ঈ \\ অ + ঐ \\ আ + ঔ \end{array} \right\} = এ$$

ইত্যাদি।

(অ + ই, অ + উ) সন্ধিতে অর্থাৎ দ্রুত উচ্চারণ-জনিত মিলনে উৎপন্ন হইয়াছে। কিন্তু একার ও ওকারের উচ্চারণে এমন কিছুই বুঝিতে পারা যায় না, বাহাতে মনে হইতে পারে যে, ইহারা দুইটি অপর কোনো দুইটি স্বরের সম্মিলনে উৎপন্ন হইয়াছে। আমাদের একার-ওকারকে যদি সন্ধ্যাক্ষর বলিতেই হয়, তাহা হইলে বলিতে হইবে যে, পূর্বোক্ত অক্ষর-যুগলের (অ + ই, অ + উ) ধ্বনিদ্বয় কোনো দুইটি ধাতুর জায় গলিয়া মিশিয়া গিয়া একটা স্বতন্ত্র রকমের ধ্বনিতে পরিণত হইয়াছে।

৩। সন্ধির নিয়মে উক্ত হইয়াছে :—

$$\begin{aligned} \text{(ক) } (১) \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{অ + ই} \\ \text{আ + ই} \end{array} \right\} &= \text{এ} \\ (২) \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{অ + ঐ} \\ \text{আ + ঐ} \end{array} \right\} &= \text{ঐ} \end{aligned}$$

ইত্যাদি। আমরা ইহা পরীক্ষা করিয়া দেখিব।*

$$\begin{aligned} \text{(খ) } (১) \quad \text{এ + অ} &= \text{অয়} + \text{অ} = \text{অই} + \text{অ} \\ (২) \quad \text{ও + অ} &= \text{অব} + \text{অ} = \text{অউ} + \text{অ} \\ (৩) \quad \text{ঐ + অ} &= \text{আয়} + \text{অ} = \text{আই} + \text{অ} \\ (৪) \quad \text{ঔ + অ} &= \text{আব} + \text{অ} = \text{আউ} + \text{অ} \end{aligned}$$

এখানে আমরা দেখিতে পাইতেছি :—

$$\begin{aligned} (১) \quad \text{এ} &= \text{অ + ই, আ + ই নহে ;} \\ (২) \quad \text{ও} &= \text{অ + উ, আ + উ নহে ;} \\ (৩) \quad \text{ঐ} &= \text{আ + ই, অ + ই নহে ; এবং} \\ (৪) \quad \text{ঔ} &= \text{আ + উ, অ + উ নহে।} \end{aligned}$$

তবেই পরীক্ষায় দেখা যাইতেছে, যদিও আমরা সাধারণ নিয়মে (ক) পাইয়াছি যে, অ + ই, এবং আ + ই এই উভয়ই একার হয়, তথাপি বস্তুত ইহা অ + ই (= অই), আ + ই (= আই) কখনই নহে। ওকার-প্রভৃতিরও সম্বন্ধে এই

২। Bopp: Comparative Grammar, Vol. I, p. 2; ব.সা.প. ১৭শ ভাগ, পৃ. ১৫।

৩। অথবা অস্ত্র যে কোনো স্বর। অস্ত্রান্ত উদাহরণেও এইরূপ বুঝিতে হইবে।

৪। অসমান স্বর পরে থাকিলে ই স্থানে য্ হয়, তদনুসারে অ ই + অ = অয় + অ। অন্যত্রও অব্ + অ = অউ + অ ইত্যাদি স্থলে এইরূপ বুঝিতে হইবে।

৫। এই ইকারের মাত্রার কথা পরে (§ ৮) আলোচিত হইবে।

কথা; ওকার বস্তুত অ+উ (=অউ), আ+উ (=আউ) নহে; ঐকার বস্তুত আ+ই (=আই), অ+ই (=অই) নহে; এবং ওকারও বস্তুত আ+উ (=আউ), অ+উ (=অউ) নহে।

৪। সন্ধির অপর নিয়ম হইতেছে:—

$$\text{আ+ই}^* = \text{এ}$$

$$\text{আ+উ} = \text{ও}$$

যদি একার ও ওকারের স্বরূপ বস্তুত যথাক্রমে অ ই, অ উ হয়, তাহা হইলে সন্ধির এই নিয়মটি খাটে না। এখানে ইহাই একমাত্র উত্তর যে, এ স্থলে বস্তুত অ+ই, ও অ+উ প্রথমে যথাক্রমে অ+এ, ও অ+ও হয়; এবং পরে ইহাদের উভয়ের স্থানে যথাক্রমে একার ও ওকার এই একাদেশ হইয়া থাকে। পরে ইহা দেখান হইবে (§ ২৭)। পদসাধনের জন্ত ব্যাকরণের প্রক্রিয়া যাহাই হউক, পরে আমরা আরো স্পষ্টভাবে দেখিতে পাইব, একার ও ওকার বস্তুত যথাক্রমে আ ই ও আ উ নহে।

৫। সন্ধির আর একটি নিয়ম হইতেছে:—

$$(\text{ক}) \text{ অ+এ, অথবা আ+এ} = \text{ঐ}$$

এইরূপ

$$(\text{খ}) \text{ অ+ঐ, অথবা আ+ঐ} = \text{ঐ}$$

এখানে এ=অ ই বলিয়া ইহার অন্তর্গত অ-ধ্বনির সহিত পূর্ববর্তী অ-ধ্বনি মিলিয়া দীর্ঘ অর্থাৎ আ হইয়াছে। অতএব, অ+এ=ঐ হইলে, এই ঐকার বস্তুত আ ই ভিন্ন কিছু নহে। আ+এ=ঐ, এ স্থলেও পূর্ববর্তী আ পরবর্তী একারের (অর্থাৎ অ ই'র) অন্তর্গত অকারের ধ্বনির সহিত মিলিয়া (দীর্ঘ) আ-রূপেই থাকে। তাই এখানেও ঐ=আ ই। অন্তর্য ও এইরূপ*।

৬। ই অর্থাৎ ই, ঐ দুইই। অন্তর্যও এইরূপ, ত্রষ্টব্য টীকা ১।

৭। নিম্নে প্রদর্শিত উদাহরণে ইহা স্পষ্ট বুঝা যাইবে:—

$$(\text{ক}) \text{ অ+এ} = \text{অ+অই} (= \text{অ+অ+ই}) = \text{আ ই} = \text{ঐ}$$

$$\text{আ+এ} = \text{আ+অই} (= \text{অ+অ+অ+ই}) = \text{আ ই} = \text{ঐ}$$

$$(\text{গ}) \text{ অ+ঐ} = \text{অ+আ ই} (= \text{অ+অ+অ+ই}) \text{ আ ই} = \text{ঐ}$$

$$\text{আ+ঐ} = \text{আ+আ ই} (= \text{অ+অ+অ+অ+ই}) = \text{আ ই} = \text{ঐ}$$

$$(\text{গ}) \text{ অ+ও} = \text{অ+অ+উ} (= \text{অ+অ+উ}) = \text{আ উ} = \text{ও}$$

$$\text{আ+ও} = \text{আ+অ উ} (= \text{অ+অ+অ+উ}) = \text{আ উ} = \text{ও}$$

$$(\text{ঘ}) \text{ অ+ঔ} = \text{অ+আ+উ} (= \text{অ+অ+অ+উ}) = \text{আ উ} = \text{ঔ}$$

$$\text{আ+ঔ} = \text{আ+আ উ} (= \text{অ+অ+অ+অ+উ}) = \text{আ উ} = \text{ঔ}$$

৬। এই সন্ধ্যাক্ষর কয়টির প্রকৃতি-সম্বন্ধে আমাদের প্রাতিশাখ্যের কথা এখানে একটু আলোচনা করা যাউক। এক ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্য (১৩.১৫-১৬) ভিন্ন অগ্ন্যন্ত (অথর্ব-, বাজসনেয়ি-, ও তৈত্তিরীয়-) প্রাতিশাখ্যে ঐকার-ওকার সম্বন্ধে যতটা আলোচনা আছে, একার-ওকারের স্বরূপ-সম্বন্ধে ততটা দেখা যায় না ; তবে তৈত্তিরীয় প্রাতিশাখ্যে (২.১৩-১৬) একার-ওকারের উচ্চারণ-সম্বন্ধে কতক আলোচনা করা হইয়াছে। বাজসনেয়ি- (১.৪৫), অথর্ব- (১.৪০) ও ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যে (১৩.১৫) আলোচ্য চারিটি স্বরকেই সন্ধ্যাক্ষর বলা হইয়াছে।^৮ তৈত্তিরীয় প্রাতিশাখ্যে যদিও সন্ধ্যাক্ষর শব্দটিই নাই, তথাপি তাহাতে ঐকার ও ওকারের যে স্বরূপ বর্ণনা করা হইয়াছে (২.২৬-২৯), তাহাতে ঐ স্বর দুইটি যে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর সে বিষয় কোনো সন্দেহ থাকিতে পারে না। সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইলেও তৈত্তিরীয়-ও বাজসনেয়ি-প্রাতিশাখ্যে একার-ওকারকে ঐকার-ওকারের গ্রায় বিশ্লেষণ করিয়া কেন দেখান হয় নাই তাহা ভাবিবার বিষয়। এ সম্বন্ধে আমার মনে যাহা হইয়াছে একটু পরেই বলিব।

৭। ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যে (১৩.১৬) শাকটায়নের নাম উল্লেখ করিয়া বলা হইয়াছে যে, সন্ধ্যাক্ষরগুলির সকলেরই আদিতে অকার, এবং একার-ঐকারের শেষে ইকার ও ওকার-ওকারের শেষে উকার আছে। এখন বলা বাহুল্য, মাত্রা বা অপর কিছুরও কোনো একটু তারতম্য বা ভেদ না থাকিলে একার-ঐকার ও ওকার-ওকারের পরস্পর কোনো ভেদ অনুভূত হইতে পারে না। এজন্য সেখানে (ঋক্.প্রা. ১৩.১৬) যাহা উক্ত হইয়াছে^৯, ভাষ্যকার তাহা দুইরকমে ব্যাখ্যা করিয়াছেন, এবং উভয়ই ব্যাখ্যা অসঙ্গত মনে হয় না। তিনি বলিয়াছেন (১), একার ও ওকারের যথাক্রমে অ-ই- ও অ-উ-, এই যে দুই-দুইটি সমান মাত্রা (=অক্ষর, syllable) আছে, ইহারা দুধ ও জলের মত পরস্পর একরূপ সংসৃষ্ট হইয়া যায় যে, জানা যায় না, কোথায় ইহাদের অবর্ণের মাত্রা, আর কোথায় বা ইহাদের ইবর্ণ-উবর্ণের মাত্রা। তাই তাহাদিগকে পৃথক্ গুণিতে পারা যায় না, অর্থাৎ একার ও ওকারের অন্তর্গত অবর্ণ ও ইবর্ণ-উবর্ণের পৃথক্ শ্রবণ হয় না (“অপৃথক্-শ্রুতী”)। অথবা এস্থলে ইহাও বলিতে পারা যায় যে (২), একার ও ওকারের অন্তর্গত যথাক্রমে অ-ই- ও অ-উ- মাত্রার দুধ-জলের মত যেরূপ সম্মিশ্রণ হয়, (যাহাতে জানা যায় না যে, কোথায় অবর্ণ, আর কোথায় ই বা ইবর্ণ-উবর্ণ), ঐকার-ওকারের

৮। ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যে (১৩.১৫-১৬) সন্ধ্যাক্ষর অর্থে আর একটি শব্দ পাওয়া যায় সন্ধ্য (= ‘সন্ধাতব্য’, ‘সম্মেলনীয়’; অথবা ‘সংহিত’, ‘সম্মিলিত’। “সন্ধাতব্যানি সন্ধিতানি বা।”—উকট)।

৯। “মাত্রাসংসর্গাদবরে পৃথক্-শ্রুতী।”

অন্তর্গত অ-ই- ও অ-উ- অক্ষরের সেরূপ সম্মিশ্রণ হয় না (কেন হয় না তাহার কারণ পরে বলা হইয়াছে)। সেই জন্ত (যদিও একারের ত্রায় ঐকারেও অ-ই- এবং ওকারের ত্রায় ঔকারেও অ-উ- আছে, তথাপি) ঐকার-ঔকার হইতে একার-ওকারকে ভিন্নভাবে গুনিতে পারা যায় (“পৃথক্শ্রুতী”)।

লক্ষ্য করিতে হইবে, আলোচ্য “মাত্রাসংসর্গাদ্” হুক্তে (ঋক্.প্রা. ১৩.১৬) ভাষ্যকার মা ত্রা শব্দটিকে ‘স্বর’, বা ‘অক্ষর’ (syllable) অর্থে লইয়াছেন। হুক্তকারেরও ইহা অভিপ্রেত মনে হয়। মা ত্রা শব্দ যে, ‘অক্ষর’কে বুঝায় তাহা বাজ.প্রাতিশাখ্যেও (১.৭৩) ১° দেখা যায়।

৮। সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইলেও একার ও ওকারের অন্তর্গত অকার ও যথাক্রমে ইকার-উকারের উচ্চারণ-মাত্রা কত তাহা কোনো প্রাতিশাখ্যেই বলা হয় নাই। তাহা হইলেও এটা ঠিক যে, তাহাদের মধ্যে ন্যূনাধিক্য বা তারতম্য কিছু-না-কিছু থাকিবেই। উভয়ের সমান-সমান এক-এক মাত্রা ধরিতে পারা যায় না। কেন না, তাহা হইলে সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের সন্ধ্যাক্ষরত্ব থাকে না; তাহা যে, দুইটি স্বরধ্বনির সংযোগে অপর একটি ধ্বনি ইহা বলা যায় না। সংস্কৃতের চৈত্র প্রাকৃতে চ ই ত্ত এবং ইহা উচ্চারিত হয় চ-ই-ত্ত-, এখানে তিনটি অক্ষর (syllable)। সংস্কৃতের চৈত্র যদিও বস্তুত চ ই ত্ত (অথবা চা ই ত্ত), তথাপি চ-ই-ত্ত- শব্দের মত চ-ই-ত্র- (অথবা চা-ই-ত্র-) এইরূপ তিন অক্ষরে উচ্চারিত হয় না। প্রাকৃতে চ-ই-ত্ত- তিন অক্ষরে উচ্চারিত হয়, এবং এই জন্তই এখানে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর নাই। এইরূপ সংস্কৃতেও তিন অক্ষরে চ-ই-ত্র- (অথবা চা-ই-ত্র-) উচ্চারিত হইলে এখানে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইতে পারে না। সংস্কৃতে প্রথম দুইটি অক্ষর (অ ই, অথবা আ ই) দ্রুত উচ্চারণ-হেতু এক সঙ্গে একটি অক্ষরে (অই, অথবা আই) উচ্চারিত হওয়ায় এখানে একটি সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হয়, এবং সমগ্র শব্দটি উচ্চারিত হয় দুই অক্ষরে চ ই- ত্র- (অথবা চা ই-ত্র-)। অ ই অথবা আ ই, এই দুইটি অক্ষর যখন অই অথবা আই এইরূপ এক অক্ষরে উচ্চারিত হয় তখন স্পষ্ট বুঝা যায় যে, অ ই অথবা আ ই এই দুটি অক্ষরের মাত্রার তারতম্য আছে; অ অথবা আ’র উচ্চারণে যে মাত্রা, ই’র উচ্চারণে সে মাত্রা নাই। অতএব যদি ঐকার-ঔকারের ত্রায় একার-ওকারকেও সন্ধ্যাক্ষর বলিতে হয় তবে তাহাদের অন্তর্গত অক্ষরদ্বয়ের মাত্রার তারতম্য অবশ্য স্বীকার করিতে হইবে। বলিয়াছি, প্রাতিশাখ্যসমূহ এ বিষয়ে নীরব—যদিও

ঐকার-ওকারের অন্তর্গত অ ই (আ ই) ও অ উ (আ উ) এই উভয়ের মাত্রার সম্বন্ধে তাহাতে বিশেষ আলোচনা করা হইয়াছে।

৯। ঐকার ও ওকারের অন্তর্গত যথাক্রমে অ ই ও অ উ মাত্রার সম্বন্ধে তৈত্তিরীয় প্রাতিশাখ্যে (২.২৬-২৯) উক্ত হইয়াছে যে, অকারের মাত্রা অর্দ্ধ (১/২), এবং ইকার-ওকারের মাত্রা দেড় (১ ১/২)। ১১ ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যের (১৩.১৬) ভাষ্যকার এখানে একটু অন্তরূপ বলিয়াছেন। তিনি বলিতে চাহেন, অকারের মাত্রা ১/২, এবং ইকার-ওকারের মাত্রা ১ ১/২ (“পাদমাত্রাধিকঃ।” জটব্য—ঋক্. প্রাতি. ১৩.১৩; বাজ. প্রাতি, ৪. ১৪৮-৯)। তিনি এই মাত্রা-বৈষম্যের উল্লেখে বলিয়াছেন যে, (একার-ওকার স্থলে অকার ও ইকার-ওকারের মাত্রা সমান-সমান ছিল —“সময়োর্মাত্রয়োঃ”, তাই তাহাদের দুধ-জলের মত ঐরূপ সন্নিশ্রণ হইয়াছিল, কিন্তু) যেহেতু এখানে তাহাদের মাত্রার কম-বেশী আছে, সেই জন্ত দুধ-জলের মত সন্নিশ্রণ হয় না, এবং সেই জন্তই ইহাদের মধ্যে অবর্ণ ও ইবর্ণ-উবর্ণকে পৃথক্ গুণিতে পাওয়া যায়।

১০। বাজ. প্রাতিশাখ্যে (১.৭৩) ঐকার-ওকারের অন্তর্গত পূর্ব ও পর অক্ষরের উল্লেখ করিয়া আবার (৪.১৪৩) বলা হইয়াছে যে, (যদিও তাহাদের মধ্যে দুই-দুইটি করিয়া অক্ষর আছে, তথাপি) তাহাদিগকে একটির স্থায় গণ্য করিতে হইবে। ইহার তাৎপর্য্য হইতেছে এই যে, যেমন স্বরষয়ের মধ্যবস্তী দুইটি ব্যঞ্জনকে (যেমন কু কু ট শব্দে ক্ অথবা ক্ ক্) এক প্রযত্নে একটির স্থায় উচ্চারণ করা হয় (ঐ, ৪. ১৪২), সেইরূপ ঐকার ও ওকারের অন্তর্গত অ ই ও অ উ ইহাদিগকেও এক প্রযত্নে উচ্চারণ করিতে হইবে। ইহার দ্বারা কেহ এমন মনে করিবেন না যে, এখানে ঐকার ও ওকারকে অকারাদির স্থায় এক-একটি অথও স্বর বলিয়া গণ্য করিবার উপদেশ দেওয়া হইতেছে। ইহার তাৎপর্য্য এই যে, ঐকার-ওকারের অন্তর্গত অ ই ও অ উ বর্ণকে এক প্রযত্নে উচ্চারণ করিতে হইবে; অ-ই-, অ-উ- এইরূপ, অর্থাৎ প্রাক্কৃতের চ-ই-স্ত- ও ক-উ-র-ব- (< কোরব) ইত্যাদির অ-ই-, অ-উ- এর মত বিলম্বিত ও বিভিন্ন প্রযত্নে উচ্চারণ করিতে হইবে না। সন্ধ্যাকর হইলেও ঐকার-ওকার সম্বন্ধে সেখানে কিছু বলা হয় নাই।

১১। বাজ.প্রাতি.ভাষ্যে (১.৭৩) একটি বচনও উদ্ধৃত হইয়াছে :—

“অর্দ্ধমাত্রা তু কণ্ঠ্যন্ত ঐকারোকারয়োর্বৈৎ।”

উল্লিখিত সূত্রের ভাষ্যে ভাষ্যকার বলিয়াছেন যে, কাহারো মতে (“কেচিৎ”) ঐকারে অকারের মাত্রা অর্দ্ধ এবং অকারের মাত্রা দেড় (অ ১/২ + এ ১/২ = এ ১) ; এইরূপ ওকারে অকারের মাত্রা অর্দ্ধ আর ওকারের মাত্রা দেড় (অ ১/২ + ও ১/২ = ও ১)। ইহার কারণ—অ+এ=ঐ, অ+ও=ঔ।

১১। বলিয়াছি, সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইল একার-ওকারের অন্তর্গত অ ই ও অ উ'র কত মাত্রা তাহা কোনো প্রাতিশাখ্যেই বলা হয় নাই; অথচ ইহাদিগকে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর বলিয়া স্বীকার করিলে তাহাদের অন্তর্গত দুইটি অক্ষরের মাত্রা নির্দেশ না করিলে চলে না। তৈত্তিরি. ও বাজ.প্রাতিশাখ্যে ঐকার-ওকারের বিশ্লেষণ করিয়া যেরূপ বিচার করা হইয়াছে, একার-ওকারের সম্বন্ধে সেরূপ করা হয় নাই। তৈত্তিরি.প্রাতিশাখ্যে ইকার-উকারের স্থায় একার-ওকারেরও কেবল সবিশেষ উচ্চারণই বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। বলিয়া আসিয়াছি, ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যে একার-ওকারের অন্তর্গত অ ই ও অ উ-কে একবারে দুধ-জলের মত পরস্পর সম্মিশ্রিত বলিয়া উল্লেখ করা হইয়াছে, ইহাতে তাহাদের অন্তর্গত ঐ দুই-দুই স্বরের ধ্বনিকে আর কিছুতেই স্বতন্ত্রভাবে বুঝিতে পারা যায় না। অথ. প্রাতিশাখ্যের (১০.৪০, ৪১) কথায় বুঝিতে পারা যায় যে, একার-ওকার সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইলেও এক-একটি অথগু স্বরের স্থায় গণ্য হইত—যদিও ঐকার-ওকার সেরূপ গণ্য হইত না।^{১১}

১২। এখানে ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যের কথা পর্যালোচনীয়, একার-ওকার যে, ইহাতেও সন্ধ্যাক্ষর বলিয়া উক্ত হইয়াছে, ইহা আমরা দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি (§৬, ঋক্.প্রাতি, ১.১১; “ততশ্চত্বারি সন্ধ্যাক্ষরাণি”)। পরে তাহাতে (১৩.১৫) আবার বলা হইয়াছে যে, কা হা রো কা হা রো মতে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর সমূহ সন্ধ্য অর্থাৎ সন্ধিযোগ্য, কেন না ইহাদের উভয়ের (একার-ওকারের ও ঐকার-ওকারের) উচ্চারণে স্থানদ্বয় (কঠ-তালু ও কঠ-ওষ্ঠ) লক্ষিত হয়।^{১২}

এ-ও, ঐ-ও, এই চারিটি স্বরের সন্ধ্যাক্ষর নামটি যদি প্রাতিশাখ্যের সময়ে সর্ক-প্রকারে অর্থ বা সার্থক থাকিত, অর্থাৎ দুই-দুই স্বরের সম্মিলনেই ঐ স্বর চারিটি হইয়াছে এবং সেই জন্তই তাহাদের সন্ধ্যাক্ষর নাম,—ইহা যদি ঐ প্রাতিশাখ্যের

১২। অথর্বপ্রাতিশাখ্যের উল্লিখিত সূত্র দুইটি এই (১০. ৪০, ৪১) :—

“সন্ধ্যাক্ষরাণি সংস্পৃষ্টৈবর্ণান্যেকবদ্‌ বৃত্তিঃ।”

“নৈকারোকায়োঃ স্থানবিধৌ ॥”

সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের উচ্চারণ-সম্বন্ধে যখন বলা হইতেছে যে, ঐকার-ওকারের এক বর্ণের স্থায় ব্যবহার হয় না, তখন ইহাতেই বুঝিতে হয় যে, একার-ওকারের সেরূপ অর্থাৎ এক বর্ণের স্থায় ব্যবহার হয়।

১৩।

“সন্ধ্যানি সন্ধ্যাক্ষরাণ্যাহরেকৈ

দ্বিস্থানতৈতৈষু তথোভয়েষু।”

ভাষ্য—“সন্ধ্যানি সন্ধি (সন্ধি) তব্যানি, সন্ধি-(সন্ধি-) ত্যনি বা সন্ধ্যাক্ষরাণি আহরেকৈ আচাৰ্য্যৈঃ। যথা সন্ধ্যাক্ষরাণি উৎপন্নানি ন তথৈমানি। কথমেতদ্‌ অধ্যবসায়তে? যতো দ্বিস্থানতা কঠতালুস্থানতা, কঠোষ্ঠস্থানতা চ। তথা লক্ষ্যতে উভয়েষু সন্ধ্যাক্ষরেষু কঠতালব্যয়োঃ কঠোষ্ঠয়োশ্চ, এ ও, ঐ ও। যদি সন্ধ্যানি দ্বয়োবর্ণয়োঃ সন্ধিজানি ভবন্তি।”

সময় সকলেই সকলের উচ্চারণে স্পষ্ট দেখিতে পাইতেন, তাহা হইলে ‘স ক্স ক র সন্ধি-যোগ্য’ ইহা লইয়া আলোচনা করিবার কোনো প্রয়োজন থাকিত না। বিশেষত এখানে স্পষ্টই বলা হইয়াছে যে, কে হ, কে হ (অথবা কোনো কোনো আচার্য্য, “এ কে”) এরূপ বলেন। তবেই, ইহাও জানা যাইতেছে যে, ঐ প্রাতিশাখ্যের সময়ে স ক সে ঐরূপ উচ্চারণ করিতেন না। যাহারা ঐরূপ করিতেন তাঁহাদের যুক্তি বা কারণ কি, সে সম্বন্ধে বলা হইয়াছে যে, উচ্চারণেই বুঝা যায়, ইহার দুই স্থান হইতে উচ্চারিত হয় (“বিস্থানতৈতৈষু তথোভয়েষু”)। ইহা কেবল একজাতীয় সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের সম্বন্ধে নহে, উভয় প্রকারেরই সম্বন্ধে, অর্থাৎ এ-ও, ঐ-ও এই দুয়েরই সম্বন্ধে (“তথোভয়েষু”)। উভয় সন্ধ্যাক্ষর বলায় স্পষ্টই বুঝা যাইতেছে যে, যাহারা এই মত পোষণ করিতেন তাঁহাদের নিকট ঐকার-ওকারের ত্রায় একার-ওকারেরও উচ্চারণে স্থানদ্বয় লক্ষিত হইত—যদিও তাঁহাদের বিরুদ্ধবাদিগণের নিকট উভয় ই সন্ধ্যাক্ষর সেরূপ লক্ষিত হইত না। ইহাতে আমরা মনে করিতে পারি, ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যের সময়ে অথবা তাহার পূর্বে হইতেই একার-ওকারের দ্বিবিধ উচ্চারণ চলিতেছিল। এক উচ্চারণ মূল প্রাচীন; ইহাতে যথাক্রমে কণ্ঠ-তালু ও কণ্ঠ-ওষ্ঠ হইতে যে তাহার দুইটি উচ্চারিত হইত তাহা স্পষ্টই বুঝা যাইত। অত্র উচ্চারণে তাহা বুঝা যাইত না, কেবল তালু ও ওষ্ঠ হইতে উচ্চারিত হইতেছে ইহাই বুঝা যাইত। কিন্তু ইহাও আমাদিগকে বলিতে হইবে যে, যদিও ঐ দুই প্রকারেরই উচ্চারণ ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যের সময়ে, অথবা তাহার পূর্বে হইতেই চলিতেছিল, তথাপি দ্বিতীয় উচ্চারণেরই প্রচার ছিল বেশী, এবং ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যকার মহর্ষি শৌনকের সম্প্রদায় ইহাই মানিয়া চলিতেন। সেই জন্তই তিনি বলিয়াছেন যে, একার-ওকারের অন্তর্গত স্বরদ্বয় (যথাক্রমে অ ই ও অ উ) এরূপ মিশিয়া যায় যে, পৃথক্ ভাবে শুনা যায় না (ঋক্-প্রাতি. ১৩.১৬)। শৌনক, এ ও ঐ ও এই চারিটি বর্ণের সন্ধ্যাক্ষর এই প্রাচীন সার্থক সংজ্ঞাকে স্বীকার করিয়া প্রচলিত উচ্চারণের সহিত তাহার সামঞ্জস্য করিতে গিয়া ঐরূপ বলিতে বাধ্য হইয়াছিলেন; অন্তথা তিনি যেরূপ বলিয়াছেন তাহাতে একার-ওকারকে অকারাদির ত্রায় একটা অর্থও মূল স্বর বলিলে কোনো ক্ষতি হইত না। যাহারা শৌনকের পূর্বের বা তাহার সময়ের ঐ প্রাচীন উচ্চারণের সহিত পরিচিত ছিলেন ও তাহাই সমর্থন করিতেন, শাকটায়ন ছিলেন তাঁহাদের মধ্যে অন্ততম ও সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত। ঋক্-প্রাতিশাখ্যে (১৩.১৬) তাহারই নাম উল্লেখ করা হইয়াছে। শৌনক ইহার মত অগ্রাহ না করিয়া দ্বিতীয় বা প্রচলিত উচ্চারণের সহিত তাহার একরূপ সামঞ্জস্য-বিধান করিয়া দিয়াছেন।

১৩। প্রাতিশাখ্যসমূহের পূর্বে যে, একার-ওকারের বস্তুত যথাক্রমে একপ্রযত্ন-সাধ্য অ ই অ উ উচ্চারণ ছিল তাহা পূর্ক-প্রদর্শিত (১৩) সন্ধি-প্রণালীতেই পাওয়া

যাইতেছে। অবন্তারও ভাষায় ইহার কিঞ্চিৎ পরিচয় পাওয়া যায়। সংস্কৃতে যেখানে (১) এ, অবন্তায় সেখানে (ক) বহুস্থলে অ এ, (খ) স্থানে-স্থানে ও ই, এবং (গ) পদান্তে সর্বত্র এ দেখা যায়। এইরূপ সংস্কৃতে যেখানে (২) ও, অবন্তায় সেখানে (ক) বহুস্থলে অ ও, (খ) স্থানে-স্থানে এ উ, এবং (গ) পদান্তে সর্বত্র ও রহিয়াছে।

যথা—

সংস্কৃত	অবন্তা ^{১০}
(১) (ক) এ ত ৎ	অ এ ত ৎ
(খ) ভূ রে স্ (ঙঈ)	বুরো ই শ্
গি রে স্	গরো ই শ্
(২) (ক) ও জ স্	অ ও জো
(খ) ব সো স্ (ঙঈ)	বঙ্ হে উ শ্
ক্র তো স্	খ্র তে উ শ্

এখানে (১) (২) উভয়ই উদাহরণের (ক) অংশে সংস্কৃতির একার-ওকারের (অ ই -অ উ'র) প্রথম অবয়ব অকার, এবং (খ) অংশে তাহাদের দ্বিতীয় অবয়ব যথাক্রমে ইকার-উকার অবন্তার শব্দে দেখা যাইতেছে।^{১১}

১৪। (১) ঐকার ও (২) ঔকারেরও অবয়ব যে, যথাক্রমে আ ই, আ উ, তাহাও অবন্তায় সুস্পষ্ট দেখা যায়। যথা—

১৪। ছাপাখানার উপযুক্ত হরণের অভাবে অবন্তার শব্দের ধ্বনিগুলি যথাযথ ভাবে প্রকাশ করিতে পারা গেল না, তথাপি যতটা সম্ভব চেষ্টা করা হইয়াছে। অশ্রু ভাষারও শব্দসম্বন্ধে কোনো কোনো স্থলে এইরূপ করিতে হইয়াছে।

১৫। আরো বিশ্লেষণ করিয়া দেখা যায় :—

সংস্কৃত	অবন্তা
গি রে স্	গরো ই শ্
গি রে স্ = গ্+ই+র্+এ+স্	
গরো ই শ্ = গ্+অ+র্+ও+ই+শ্	

তাহা হইলে দেখা যাইতেছে সং. এ=অবে. ও ই। অতএব সং. এ, অথবা বাহা একই কথা, অ ই=অবে. ও ই। এখানে সংস্কৃত হইতে অবন্তার এই মাত্র ভেদ দেখা যাইতেছে যে, সংস্কৃতির অকারটা অবন্তার ওকার হইয়াছে। সংস্কৃতির অকার যে বহু ভাষাতেই ওকার হইয়া পড়িয়াছে তাহা অকার তত্ত্ব আলোচনা করিয়াছি। প্রাচীন ভাষাসমূহে ইহার বহু উদাহরণ আছে। যথা, সং. প্র (উপসর্গ), গ্রী. ও প্রা. বুল. *pro*; সং. অ ক (অ ক ন্, অ ক্), গ্রী. *osse*, প্রা- বুল. *oko*, ইত্যাদি অনেক। এইরূপে সং. অ ই=অবে. ও ই। তুল;—সং. বো ধি, চীনা-অনুলিখনে ম ও তি।

সং.	অবে.
(১) য ঙ্গৈ স্	য ন্‌প্রা ই শ্
অ ঙ্গৈ	অ হ্‌মা ই
(২) গো স্	গা উ শ্

১৫। প্রাচীন পারসীক ভাষাতেও দেখা যায়, সংস্কৃতে যেখানে একার-ওকার, ইহাতে সেখানে অ ই-অ উ। যেমন, সং. এ তি, অব্. অ এ ই তি, প্রা.পার. অ ই তি য়্ (= অ ই তি); সং. জো ঘ ($\sqrt{\text{জ্‌হ্}}$), অব্. জ ও গ, প্রা.পার. জ ঙ্গৈ গ; সং. জো য়্‌ট্‌ ($\sqrt{\text{জ্‌য্}}$), প্রা.পার. দ উ শ্‌ত্‌ র 'বজ্জ' (বর্তমান ফারসী দো স্‌ত, لوست)।^{১০} হিন্দ-ইউরোপীয় অন্ত্যন্ত ভাষারও ঙ্গার ইহা সমর্থিত হয়। যথা হিন্দ-ইউ. * অ ই ধ্ (*aidh*) ধাতু হইতে সং. এ ধ স্, গ্রী. *aithō*, লাত. *aedes*; হিন্দ-ইউ. * অ উ গ, সং. ও জ স্, অব্. অ ও জ ঙ্‌ হ্, লাত. *angustus, augmentum*, ইত্যাদি।^{১১}

১৬। এখানে একটি কথা দেখিবার আছে। ব্যাকরণে সন্ধির সাধারণ নিয়ম হইতেছে:—অ+ই=এ; এবং অ+এ, অথবা ঐ=ঐ। এইরূপ, অ+উ=ও, এবং অ+ও, অথবা ও=ও। কিন্তু অ+ই=ঐ, অথবা অ+উ=ও সাধারণত এরূপ দেখা যায় না। কিন্তু কখনো কখনো এরূপও হইয়া থাকে। যথা, প্র+ই য য়্‌ =প্রৈ য য়্‌ (ঋ. ১.১২০.৫); আ+ই জ্‌=ঐ জ্‌ (সাম ১.২.১.৪৫)। এখানে স্পষ্টত অ+ই, অথবা আ+ই=ঐ, এ নহে। অ+ইচ্ছাম=ঐচ্ছাম (ঋ. ১০.৫১.৩)। এখানেও তাহাই হইয়াছে। এইরূপ অ+উ ক্‌ ৭=ও ক্‌ ৭ (ঋ. ১০.৫৫.৭), এখানে অ+উ=ও, ও নহে। ব্রাহ্মণ ও পরবর্তী সাহিত্যে এ পদ্ধতি অনেক চলিয়াছে।^{১২} ইহাতে জানা যাইতেছে, যদিও আমরা প্রকারান্তরে (১৩) জানিতে পারিয়াছি যে, ঐ, ও যথাক্রমে আ ই, আ উ, তথাপি কোনো কোনো স্থলে তাহারা যথাক্রমে অ ই, অ উ। ইহা ঙ্গার বুঝা যাইতেছে যে, অ ই কে, অর্থাৎ যাহা একই কথা, একারকে, এবং অ উ কে, অর্থাৎ যাহা একই কথা,

১৬। আদিম আৰ্য্যভাষার অ ই, অ উ; হিন্দু-ইউ. এ ই, এ উ; সং. এ, ও; অব্. অ এ, ও ই এবং অ ও, এ উ; (প্রা. পার. অ ই, অ উ)। Brugmann, Vol. I. p. 49.

১৭। C. O. Uhlenbeck; Sanskrit Phonetics, 1898, pp. 15-16.

১৮। অ+ঈ র্‌=ঐ র্‌, অ+ঈ রি ণী=ঐ রি ণী (ছায়াশা, ৫.১১.৫)। এইরূপ শ্রো ত্‌ প্রভৃতি ঙ্গৈব্য—পাদিনি ৩.১.৮৯ ইত্যাদি, ও ব্যক্তিক।

ওকারকে এখন আমরা যেরূপ এক অখণ্ডভাবে (অ-সন্ধ্যাক্ষর ভাবে) উচ্চারণ করি পূর্বে তাহা সেরূপ ছিল না। থাকিলে উল্লিখিত স্থানসমূহে ঐরূপ ঐকার-ওকার দেখিতে পাওয়া যাইত না। পূর্বে ঐকার-ওকারের যেরূপ উচ্চারণ ছিল একার-ওকারেরও বস্তুত প্রায় সেইরূপ ছিল। ইহাদের ভেদের একমাত্র কারণ ছিল পূর্ব অবয়ব অকার-আকারের অর্থাৎ হ্রস্ব অকার ও দীর্ঘ অকারের (দীর্ঘ অকার = আ) পরস্পর ভেদ; অর্থাৎ প্রথম অবয়ব অবর্ণের ধ্বনির মাত্রার ন্যূনাধিক্য। অ ই, ও অ উ ইহাদের পূর্ববর্তী অ-ধ্বনি যখন ন্যূন বা হ্রস্ব তখন এ, এবং যখন তাহা পূর্ব অপেক্ষা কিছু অধিক বা দীর্ঘ তখন তাহা ঐ। ওকার-ওকারেরও সম্বন্ধে এই কথা। অ উ এই দুই অক্ষরের এক সঙ্গে উচ্চারণে অ-ধ্বনি যখন ন্যূন থাকে তখন সেখানে ওকারের প্রাচীন উচ্চারণ, এবং যখন সেই অ-ধ্বনি পূর্বাপেক্ষা কিছু অধিক হয় তখন ওকারের প্রাচীন উচ্চারণ পাওয়া যাইতে পারে। সংস্কৃতে একই গো-শব্দ হইতে গ বা (গো + আ; ওয়া এক.) ও গা বো (গো + ও; ১মা ও ২য়া. বি.) পদ ইহা স্পষ্টই প্রকাশ করিতেছে।

১৭। প্রাকৃত ভাষায়ও বারা এই বিষয়টি সমর্থিত হয়। প্রাকৃতে সাধারণত নিয়ম হইতেছে ঐ = এ, এবং ঔ = ও (প্রা. প্র. ১.৩৫.৪১); যেমন-সং. শৈ ল, প্রা: সে ল; সং. কো মুদী, প্রা. কো মুদী। এখানে একার-ঐকার ও ওকার-ঔকারের পরস্পর কোনরূপ একটা ঘনিষ্ঠ সম্বন্ধ না থাকিলে সাধারণ ভাবে একের স্থানে অল্পটি হইতে পারে না। এই ঘনিষ্ঠ সম্বন্ধটি আর কিছুই নহে, মূলত এ-ঐ, ও ও-ঔ একই, কেবল আন্ত অবয়ব অকারের মাত্রার তারতম্য-ভেদ। অতথা এরূপ পরিবর্তনের অল্প কোন কারণ দেখা যাইতেছে না।

১৮। একার-ওকারের পূর্বোক্ত মূল উচ্চারণের কোন চিহ্ন আমাদের প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহে পাওয়া যায় না, কিন্তু ঐকার-ওকারে অনেকটা সেইরূপ উচ্চারণ কতকগুলি ভাষায় ধরিতে পারা যায়। হিন্দী, শুজরাতি, মরাঠী, সিন্ধী, পঞ্জাবী, ও সিংহলীতে ঐকার ও ওকার যথাক্রমে অনেকটা আ ই ও আ উ^{১১} উচ্চারিত হইয়া থাকে। দ্রাবিড়ভাষা-ভাষীরাও ইহাদের এইরূপ উচ্চারণ করেন। কিন্তু বাঙলা, ওড়িয়া, ও আসামীতে অকারটা হ্রস্বতম ওকারের স্থায় উচ্চারিত হয় বলিয়া এই সকল ভাষার-ইহাদের আদি অবয়ব অকারেরও উচ্চারণ ভিন্ন, তাই হিন্দী প্রভৃতির

১১। আ ই, আ উ ইহাদের পূর্বের ঐকার-ওকারের মাত্রা কত ও কিরূপে তাহা পরে (§ ১৯) প্রদর্শিত।

সহিত মিলে না। আমরা (বাঙালীরা) উচ্চারণ করিয়া থাকি অ ই, অ উ (অর্থাৎ ও ই, ও উ; অ=হ্রস্বতম ও, ই=হ্রস্বতম ই, উ=হ্রস্বতম উ)। একার-ওকারের মূল উচ্চারণ কোনো প্রাদেশিক ভাষায় ধরিতে না পারার ইহাই একমাত্র কারণ যে, প্রাকৃতের তো কথাই নাই, তাহারো বহু পূর্বে তাহাদের মূল উচ্চারণ পরিবর্তন প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছিল—অর্থাৎ তাহারো নিজ নিজ সন্ধাক্ষর ভাব হারাইয়া বস্তুত মূল অথও স্বর-রূপে পরিণত হইয়াছিল।

আমাদের প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহে দুইটি মাত্র শব্দ লক্ষ্য করিতে পারিয়াছি, যেখানে ওকারের প্রাচীন উচ্চারণটা (আ ই) স্পষ্ট ধরিতে পাওয়া যায়। (১) সং. গৌ (ঃ), প্রা. গা বী, গা দ্বী (হেম. ৮.১.১৫৮; “গা ই ক ঘিভা”, ‘গায়ের ঘি’, প্রা.পি. (Bibliotheca Indica পৃ.৪০৩, ২), হি. ম. শু. গা দ্বী, বা. গা ই, শু. গা ব, সিং. গ ব (স্মরণীয়—সিংহলীর অ বিবৃত), ফা. গা ব, ১৪, ১। তুল :—ইং. cow, আর. kow।

(২) সং. নৌ (ঃ), প্রা. না বা (হেম. ৮.১.১৬৮; শেষের আকারের জন্ত তুল :—গ উ আ ‘গরু’, ঐ. ১৫৮), এবং না ব (প্রা.পি. পৃ. ১২.১), হি. ম. শু. না ব, বা. না ব (চর্যাচর্য্য. ১৫.৩), না অ (শ্রীকৃষ্ণ. ১১৮, ইত্যাদি), লা উ, লা, না, ও, লা, সিং. ন ব (=না ব)। তুল :—লা. *navis*.

এখানে স্পষ্টই দেখা যাইতেছে সংস্কৃতে ওকারের আ উ উচ্চারণ না হইলে এই সকল শব্দ হইত না। উল্লিখিত শব্দগুলি সংস্কৃত হইতে সাক্ষাৎভাবে না আসিতেও পারে, হয় তো প্রাকৃত হইতেই আসিয়া থাকিবে, তথাপি, যেখানেই হউক, ওকারের প্রাচীন উচ্চারণটা যে, এ স্থানে পাওয়া যাইতেছে তাহাতে কোন সন্দেহ নাই।

১২। আমরা পূর্বে (§৯) দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি, প্রাতিশাখ্যের মতে ওকার-ওকারের আন্ত অংশের মাত্রা আধ ২, এবং অপর অংশের মাত্রা দেড় ১২ (অথবা মতান্তরে আন্ত অংশের মাত্রা পোনে এক ২, এবং অপর অংশের মাত্রা সওয়া এক ১২)। আমাদের প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহে এই নিয়মটি কতদূর রক্ষিত হইয়াছে দেখিতে হইবে। সন্ধাক্ষর (সাধারণত) দুই মাত্রার। অতএব ওকার ও ওকার ইহাদের অবয়ববয়ের স্বভাবতই একটির মাত্রা অধিক ও অপরটির মাত্রা কম হইবে, এবং তজ্জন্ত তাহাদের ধ্বনিরও ভেদ হইবে। আমার মনে হইতেছে, প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহে সর্বত্র প্রাতিশাখ্যের নিয়ম চলে নাই; দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়, ইহাতে স্থানে-স্থানে পূর্ব অবয়বের, স্থানে-স্থানে বা পর অবয়বের মাত্রা বেশী হইয়াছে। প্রাতিশাখ্যে পূর্ব অবয়বের মাত্রার বেশী হওয়ার কথা কোথাও বলা হয় নাই।

২০। প্রাচীন গ্রীক ভাষায় সন্ধ্যাক্ষর ২^১ দুই প্রকার, হ্রস্বাদি ও দীর্ঘাদি। খ্রীষ্ট-পূর্ব দ্বিতীয় শতকের ভাষার গতি অনুসারে আমরা ইহাদিগকে মুখ্য ও গৌণ ২^২ বলিতে পারি। এই মুখ্য ও গৌণ উভয়েরই অন্তিম স্বরটি হ্রস্ব। মুখ্য সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের প্রথম স্বরটিও হ্রস্ব, কিন্তু গৌণ সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের প্রথম স্বরটি দীর্ঘ; অপর কথায়, মুখ্য সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের প্রথম স্বরটি দীর্ঘ হইলেই তাহা গৌণ সন্ধ্যাক্ষর রূপে পরিণত হয়। ২^৩ সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের অন্তর্গত উভয় স্বরকেই যখন একই অক্ষরে উচ্চারণ করিতে হয়, তখন মুখ্য সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের আদিম ও অন্তিম উভয়ই স্বর বস্তুত হ্রস্ব থাকিলেও উচ্চারণে মাত্রার তারতম্য থাকিবেই, এবং তাহা হইলে বলিতেই হইবে অন্তিম স্বরেরই মাত্রার আধিক্য হয়; কেন না, তাহা না হইলে, এবং পূর্ব স্বরের মাত্রা অধিক হইলে পরবর্তী মাত্রার পূর্ববর্তী মাত্রায় অন্তর্হিত হইবার সম্ভাবনা থাকে। অতএব আমরা বলিতে পারি, প্রাতিশাখ্যে সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের মাত্রা সম্বন্ধে যাহা বলা হইয়াছে গ্রীকের মুখ্য সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের সহিত তাহা তুলনা করিতে পারা যায়। গ্রীকের গৌণ সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের প্রথম স্বরটি দীর্ঘ, এবং ইহা একরূপ ভাবে উচ্চারিত হয় যে, দ্বিতীয় স্বরটি ঋতিগোচর হয় না। ২^৪ ইহার সহিত আমাদের সংস্কৃতের সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের কোনো মিল দেখা যায় না। কিন্তু আমাদের প্রাদেশিক ভাষার সহিত স্থানে-স্থানে মিল আছে, পরে আমরা ইহা দেখিতে পাইব (§২০)। গ্রীক সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের কথা হইতে আমাদের এখানে এইমাত্র জানিবার আছে যে, সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের পূর্ব স্বরও দীর্ঘ হয়, বা তাহার মাত্রা পরবর্তী স্বরের অপেক্ষা বেশী হইয়া থাকে।

ইংরাজীর সন্ধ্যাক্ষরে প্রথম স্বরটিই দ্বিতীয় স্বর অপেক্ষা দীর্ঘ; অপর কথায় দ্বিতীয় অপেক্ষা প্রথম স্বরটির মাত্রা অধিক। now, how শব্দে উচ্চারণ-অনুসারে $a + u$ এই দুইটির যোগে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর। এখানে পূর্বটি দীর্ঘ পরেরটি হ্রস্ব, অর্থাৎ এখানে $\bar{a} + \check{u}$, $\check{a} + \bar{u}$ নহে। এইরূপ boy ও boil শব্দে $\bar{o} + \check{u}$, $\check{o} + \bar{u}$ নহে (Ben: *Higher English Grammar*, London, 1884, p. 4.) গ্রীকের গৌণ সন্ধ্যাক্ষরে যেমন প্রথম অংশটা

২০। Diphthong (‘দ্বি-ধ্বনি’), গ্রীক diphthoggos (উচ্চারিত হয় diphthongos), di = ‘দুই’, pthoggos = ‘শব্দ’, ‘ধ্বনি’।

২১। Genuine or Proper, and Spurious or Improper. খ্রী. পূ. দ্বিতীয় শতকে দীর্ঘাদি সন্ধ্যাক্ষরগুলি লিখিত হইলেও উচ্চারণে নিজের সন্ধ্যাক্ষরতাব হারাইয়া প্রায় অথও স্বররূপেই পরিণত হইয়া পড়ে।

২২। A. H. Bryce: *First Greek Primer*, 1896, p. 11, note.

২৩। *Ibid* p. 11. *Initia Græca*, Part I; *A First Greek Course*, p. 1.

প্রবল হইয়া দ্বিতীয় অংশটাকে দুর্বল করিয়া একেবারে গ্রাস করিয়া ফেলে, এবং সেই জন্য তাহাকে শোনা যায় না,—যদিও তাহা লিখিত হইয়া থাকে, এবং এইরূপে প্রথম অংশটি বস্তুত একটি অখণ্ড স্বররূপে পরিণত হয়, ইংরাজীতেও সেইরূপ দেখা যায়। প্রথম অংশটি প্রবল হইয়া দ্বিতীয় অংশকে গ্রাস করিয়া ফেলে ও তাহার স্থানটি অধিকার করিয়া বসে। তাই I'll ask him এই বাক্যের I'll অংশের উচ্চারণ হয় a:l। (এখানে a: = father শব্দের a'র স্থায়)। এইরূপ যেখানে তিনটি স্বরে সন্ধ্যক্ষর (triphthong), সেখানেও সময়ে-সময়ে তিনটি স্বর একটি দীর্ঘ স্বরে পরিণত হয় (Daniel Jones : *The Pronunciation of English*, 1911, p. 37, §§ 125-126)।

ফরাসীতে সন্ধ্যক্ষরের দ্বিতীয় স্বরটিই দীর্ঘ, এবং roi (রোয়া) ‘রাজা’, oui (উই) ‘হাঁ’, ইত্যাদি শব্দে ইহা স্পষ্ট। জার্মানীতেও এইরূপ; kaiser (কাইজের) ‘সম্রাট’, mai (মাই) ‘মে’ (মে মাস), glauben (গ্লাউবেন) ‘বিশ্বাস করা’ ইত্যাদি শব্দে ইহা স্পষ্ট বুঝা যায়।

আমাদের প্রাদেশিক ভাষা-সমূহে দুই রকমই সন্ধ্যক্ষর আছে, ক্রমশ আমরা ইহা আলোচনা করিয়া দেখিব।

২১। প্রাতিশাখ্যকারেরা আলোচ্য স্বর দুইটির উভয় অবয়বের মাত্রার যেরূপ তারতম্য নির্দেশ করিয়াছেন, প্রাকৃত ভাষায় সেরূপ দেখা যায় না, ইহাতে উভয়ই অবয়বের সমান এক-এক মাত্রা হইয়া পড়িয়াছে। ঐ ঐ প্রাকৃতে বহুস্থলে বিপ্লিষ্ট হইয়া যথাক্রমে অ-ই-, এবং অ-উ- (প্রা.প্র. ১.৩৬, ৪২); যেমন সং. চৈ-ত্র- (দুই-অক্ষর), প্রা. চ-ই-ত্র- (তিন অক্ষর); সং. কো-শ-ল- (তিন অক্ষর), প্রা. ক-উ-স-ল- (চার অক্ষর)। এখানে এই ইকার ও উকার যে, প্রাকৃত-ভাষীদের নিকট দ্রুততম ভাবে উচ্চারিত হইত না তাহা প্রাকৃতির রীতিই প্রকাশ করে। দ্রুততম ভাবে উচ্চারিত হইলে, ঐকার-ওকারকে এই ভাবে (অ-ই-, অ-উ-) ভাগ করিয়া পড়িবার রীতি ও ব্যাকরণসমূহে তজ্জন্ম নিয়ম থাকিত না। পণ্ডে প্রযুক্ত শব্দ দ্বারা সব সময় উচ্চারণটা ঠিক করা নিরাপদ হয় না, কেন না, ছন্দের জন্ত তাহাতে কোনো কোনো পরিবর্তন বা তারতম্য হইয়া থাকে। তথাপি, যদি পণ্ডের প্রমাণ গ্রহণ করিতে হয় তাহা হইলে দেখা যাইবে, ঐকার-ওকারের পর অবয়ব ইকার-উকার দ্রুততম ভাবে উচ্চারিত না হইয়া ঠিক-ঠাক এক-এক মাত্রায় উচ্চারিত হইত। যথা, “কুণস্তি তুহ ক উ ল গারীও” (গউড়বহ, ৩১৯),—‘কুর্কস্তি তব কো ল-নার্যঃ’। এখানে ছন্দশাস্ত্র-অনুসারে (প্রা. পি. ৪.২০) তিন অক্ষরে ক-উ-ল- পাঠ না করিয়া ক উ-ল- এইরূপ দুই অক্ষরে পাঠ করিলে ভুল হয়। আমরা যে

সময়ের প্রাকৃতির ব্যাকরণ পাইতেছি, সেই সময়ে প্রস্তুতা হেতু স্বরের মাত্রা কমাইয়া পড়িবার রীতি প্রায়ই উৎপন্ন হয় নাই। কেবল একটি স্থানে দেখা যায়, কাহারো-কাহারো নিকটে অ-ই- শব্দ অ-ই- অর্থাৎ ঐ উচ্চারিত হইয়াছে, এবং প্রাচীন বৈয়াকরণিকগণ তাহা লক্ষ্যও করিয়াছেন। যথা, সং. অ-য়ি-, প্রা. অ-ই-, এবং (অ-ই- অর্থাৎ) ঐ (হেম.চ. ১৬১; ত্রিবিক্রম, ২.১.৭৪ = লক্ষ্মীধর, ষড়্ভাষাচন্দ্রিকা, পৃ. ১৫০)। ২৪ এই একটি মাত্র উদাহরণ পাইয়া ঐ সকল বৈয়াকরণিক বলিয়াছেন যে, স্বীকার করিতে হইবে, প্রাকৃতে ঐকারেরও প্রয়োগ হয় (‘‘অতএব বচনাদ্ ঐকারস্থাপি প্রাকৃতে প্রয়োগঃ’’—লক্ষ্মীধর),—যদিও সাধারণত তাহা একার অথবা অ-ই- হইয়া গিয়াছে।

২২। প্রাকৃতির ধারা প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহে উপস্থিত হইয়াছে। তাই আমরা প্রাচীন বাঙলায় দেখিতে পাই, এবং বর্তমানেও কথ্য ভাষায় শুনিতে পাই গো র স্থানে গ-উ-র., এবং চৈ ত্র স্থানে (প্রা. চ ই ত >) চ-ই-ত. (পরে আবার চৈ ত্র.)। ২৩ অত্নাশ্রও প্রাদেশিক প্রাচীন ভাষাতে এইরূপ। যথা, এই সং. চৈ ত্র শব্দই হি. চ ই ত., আবার চৈ ত্র., শু. চ ই ত র.; সং. কৈ কে য়ী, হি. ক ই ক ঙ্গে; সং. কো তু ক, ও. ক উ তু ক, ২৫ ম. ক ব তু ক (< ক উ তু ক) ২৬; সং. বৈ র, এলু বা ঝাঁটি সিং. ব য়ি র; ইত্যাদি।

আবার প্রস্তুতা হেতু মাত্রা হ্রাস করিয়া পড়িবার যে রীতি প্রাকৃতে একটু-একটু করিয়া ফুটিয়া উঠিতেছিল (ঈ ২১, সং. অ য়ি, প্রা. ঐ), প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহে তাহা পরিপুষ্ট হইয়া বিবিধ শব্দ উৎপাদন করিয়াছে।

২৪। সং. অ য়ি স থি, প্রা. অ ই স হি, অথবা ঐ স হি। অ য়ি, অ য়ে, তুলঃ অ হে (> ও হে), হে। ফারসীতেও সম্বোধনার্থে অব্যয় অ র্- (اے) = অ ই (= ঐ)। যথা اے (অ র্- মর্দ্) ‘হে পুরুষ’।

২৫। দ্বিজেন্দ্রনাথের স্ব প্ৰ প্র রা ৭এ এরূপ অনেক দেখা যাইবে।

২৬। উপেন্দ্রভট্টঃ লা ব গা ব তাঁ, কটক, ১২১৪, পৃ. ৬৬। এইরূপ দ ই ব (< দৈ ব), ঐ : ম ধু রা ম জ লে (নীহার প্রেস, ১৩২৫)—দ ই ত্যা য়ি (< দৈ ত্যা য়ি), ব ই য়ি (< বৈ য়ি) পৃ. ৩; ব ই রা গী (< বৈ রা গী) পৃ. ৩০, ত ই ল (< তৈ ল) পৃ. ৩০, ক উ তু ক (< কোতুক) পৃ. ৫৭।

২৭। ন ব নী ত, বোম্বাই, ১২০৭, পৃ. ৪১১। এখানে মূল শব্দটি ক ব তু কী (< কোতুকী), ছন্দের অনুরোধে উকার স্থানে উকার হইয়াছে।

সং. মু কু ল, প্রা. মা-উ-ল-, ইহা হইতে বাঙলায় বিশেষণ বা ক্রিয়াপদ হইল ম-উ-লি-ল- (< মু কু লি ত)। এই ম-উ-লি-ল- হইতে স্বরের গ্রন্থতা-হেতু উকার দ্বিত্ব হওয়ায় (চারি অক্ষরের স্থানে তিন অক্ষরে) হইল ম উ-লি-ল-, এবং ইহাই অপর আকার ধারণ করিল মো-লি-ল- (=মৌলিল, চর্যাচর্য্য. ২৮। ৩)। সং. চ তুঃ ষ ণ্টি, প্রা. চ-উ-স-ট্টি-, —চার অক্ষর; ইহা হইতে বাঙলায় দুইই চলিতে লাগিল, চার অক্ষরে চ-উ-ষ-ট্টি-, আর তিন অক্ষরে চৌ-ষ-ট্টি- (= চ উ-ষ-ট্টি), (চর্যাচর্য্য. ১২। ৫, ১০। ৩)। হিন্দীতে এইরূপ অনেক। পূর্বে যেখানে চ-উ-হা-ন-, পরে সেখানে চৌ-হা-ন-। এইরূপ (চ তু ষ্ কৌ > চ তু কৌ >) চ-উ-কৌ-, চৌ-কৌ- (< চ উ-কৌ-); চ-উ-পা-ঈ- (< চ তু পা দী < চ তু ষ্ পা দী), চৌ-পা-ঈ- (< চ উ-পা-ঈ-); চ-উ-ত-রা- (সং. চ-ত্ব-র-ক-), চ-বু-ত-রা, চৌ-ত-রা- (< চ উ-ত-রা-); ইত্যাদি। অত্যাশ্চর্য্য ভাষাতেও এইরূপ প্রচুর। এই প্রকারে পূর্বে যেখানে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর ছিল না, পরে সেখানে নূতন সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইল। এইরূপেই ত্রীকক্ষরকীৰ্ত্তনে হ-ই-ব-, তিন অক্ষর; আবার গ্রন্থতা-হেতু ইকারের মাত্রা কমাইয়া দুই অক্ষরে হৈ-ব- (< হ ই-ব-); ভ-ই-ল-, ভৈ-ল- (< ভ ই-ল-); ইত্যাদি। সং. মূল * ন ব ত ন শব্দের ব স্থানে উ হওয়ায় (ন-ব-ত-ন-, চার অক্ষর; তাহার পর ন ব-ত-ন-, তিন অক্ষর; গ্রন্থতা-হেতু বকারের অকারটা যাওয়ায় ব-স্থানে উ হয়) প্রথমত ন-উ-ত-ন-, পরে সন্ধি-বৈচিত্র্যে (ন+উ=নু; যথা পালিতে ত থা+উ প ম=ত থু প ম, পালি-প্রকাশ, ২ § ৪; “নবস্ত নু”, পাণিনি, ৫.৪.২৫ বার্তিক) নূ ত ন। কিন্তু ন-উ-ত-ন- শব্দের উকারটা গ্রন্থ হওয়ায় ন উ-ত-ন- হইতে নৌ-ত-ন- (অথবা নৌ-ত-ন-), শৃঙ্গপুরাণ, পৃ. ৩৩। সং. স খী, প্রা. স হী, হ-লোপে স ঙ্গ, মাত্রাহ্রাসে বা. স ই- (এক অক্ষর) =সৈ, আমরা দুইই লিখি।

অত্যাশ্চর্য্য প্রাদেশিক ভাষাতেও এইরূপ অনেক সন্ধ্যাক্ষর উৎপন্ন হইয়াছে। যেখানে পূর্বে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর ছিল (যেমন পূর্বে প্রদর্শিত চৈ ত্র শব্দে), প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহ সেখানে অক্ষর ভাগ করিয়া ফেলিয়াছে, এবং তাহাতে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর নষ্ট হইয়াছে। আবার যেখানে পূর্বে বস্তুত অক্ষর ভাগ করাই ছিল, সেখানে নূতন সন্ধ্যাক্ষর উৎপন্ন হইয়াছে। সং. নি র্ণ য (> নি র্ ন য. > নি র্ ন ই >), হি. নি র্ নৈ। এইরূপ সং. হ্র দ য, (> হি র্ দ য > হি. র্ দ ই >), হি. হি র্ দৈ; সং. অভ য (> অভ য. > অভ ই >) হি. অভৈ; ইত্যাদি। আবার মধ্য অক্ষরের লোপেও এইরূপ হয়। যথা, সং. ন য ন (> ন য. ন > ন ই ন >) হি. নৈ ন (“নৈ ন বিন রূপ নিহারয়”—অন্নরদাস);

সং. 'র জ নী (> প্রা. র অ নী, র য় নী > * র য়. নী > র ই নী >) হি.
রৈ নী (আবার রৈ ন পদও আছে)। ওড়িয়ায় 'স্বামী' বা 'পুরুষ' অর্থে ঘৈ তা পদও
এইরূপে সং. গ্র হী তা (> * ঘ-ঈ-তা-, > ঘ ঈ-তা- >) হইতে।

ওঁকার-সম্বন্ধেও এইরূপ। সং. √গ্র হ্, প্রা. √গ হ হইতে হি. অমুজ্জা, মধ্যম
পুরুষে গ হ হ পদের শেষ হকারের লোপে গ-হ-উ-, পরে গ-হ-উ- হইতে গ হো 'গ্রহণ
কর' ("প্রভু হোঁ অনাথা, গ হোঁ মোর হাথা," "হে প্রভু, আমি অনাথ, আমার হাত
গ্রহণ কর")। এই প্রকার সং. √ক থ, প্রা. √ক হ হইতে ক হ হ্, পরে ক্রমশ
(ক-হ-উ- > ক-হ-উ- >) ক হো 'কহ' 'বল'। আবার, সং. ল-ব-ণ- > (ল ব-ণ-,
ব স্থানে উ হওয়ায় ইহা হইতে ল উ-ন- >) লো ন। সং. অ-প-ণ্ড-ণ- > (প্রা. অ-ব-
ণ্ড-ণ- > অ উ-ণ্ড-ণ- >) ও ণ্ড ন। অত্যাশ্চর্য্য প্রাদেশিক ভাষাতেও এই প্রকার।
সং. ম ধু, প্রা. ম হ্ > (ম-উ- > ম উ- =) বা. মো (মো চাক শব্দে মো
প্রসিদ্ধ) ; সং. ব ধু, প্রা. ব হ্, ক্রমশ বা. বো ; সং. ম হি ব, ম.মৈহ স ; সং.
খ দি র, ম. থৈ র ; সং. য় হ্, ম. ণ্ড. (ম হ্ > ম উ অথবা ম উ >) মো।

স্বরকে গ্রস্ত করিয়া পড়িবার রীতি ক্রমশ বাড়িয়া চলিয়াছে, এবং সংস্কৃতের
প্রভাবও বর্তমান প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহের উপর অতিরিক্ত মাত্রায় পড়িয়াছে।
এইজন্ত পূর্বে যেখানে প্রাকৃতের রীতিতে প্রাচীন সন্ধ্যাক্ষরকে বিশ্লেষণ করিয়া দুই-দুই
অক্ষরে উচ্চারণ করা হইত, এখন সেখানে কথ্য ভাষায় তথাকথিত অশিক্ষিতগণের
মুখে সেইরূপই উচ্চারণ হইলেও আধুনিক শিক্ষিতগণের নিকট লেখায় ও অনেক
স্থলে কথাতেও, আবার সেই প্রাচীন সন্ধ্যাক্ষরই একই অক্ষরে উচ্চারিত হয়। তাই
সত্য-সত্য গ উ র গো পা ল নাম গুলো গেলেও লিখিবার বেলা কেহ তাহা লেখেন
না—এক দ্বিজেন্দ্রনাথ ছাড়া, সকলে লিখিয়া থাকেন গোঁ র গো পা ল। অভিধান-
সমূহে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর দিয়াই বানান লেখা হইয়াছে, বিশিষ্ট দুই অক্ষরের বানান (এমন
কি জ্ঞানেন্দ্র বাবুরও অভিধানে) উল্লেখ পাইবার যোগ্য বিবেচিত হয় নাই। এ
বিষয়ে হিন্দী, মরাঠী-প্রভৃতি অভিধান কিছু ভাল। দেখিতে পাই সেখানে যদিও
সন্ধ্যাক্ষর দিয়া বানানকে আদৃত বা বহুপ্রচলিত দেখান হইয়াছে, তথাপি বিশিষ্ট
বানানও একবারে উপেক্ষিত হয় নাই, ^{২৮}—যদিও সর্বত্র তাহা করা হয় নাই।

২৮। দ্রষ্টব্য—হিন্দীশব্দমাগর, নাগরী প্রচারিণী, ১১৬ পৃ ; Molesworth's *Marathi English Dictionary*, Bombay, ১৮৫৭, চ উ থ, চ উ ত্রা ইত্যাদি শব্দ ; Popatlal Maganlal's *Handy Gujarati-English Dictionary*, ১৯১৬, চ ই ত র শব্দ।

এখানে এলুর সহিত বা. হি. প্রভৃতির একটু ভেদ আছে। বা. হি. প্রভৃতিতে পূর্বে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর বিশিষ্ট হইয়া আবার সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইয়া পড়িয়াছে বা পড়িতেছে ; কিন্তু এলুতে ইহা হয় নাই, এবং মনে হয় আর হইবেও না। কারণ সন্ধ্যাক্ষর বিশিষ্ট হইলেও এলুতে ইকারেব পূর্বে য এবং উকারের পূর্বে র আগম হইয়া থাকে, অর্থাৎ প্রাকৃত ব্যাকরণের ভাষায় বলিতে হইলে বলা যায়, যথাক্রমে য-শ্রুতি ও র-শ্রুতি হইয়া থাকে (শা স্তি নি কে ত ন পত্রিকার, ১৩২১, বৈশাখ সংখ্যায় আমার লিখিত য-শ্রুতি-নামক প্রবন্ধ দ্রষ্টব্য)। যেমন, সং. বৈ র, এ. ব স্মি র (< প্রা. ব ই র)। এখানে পরে-পরে য়কার ও ইকার থাকায় ইকারের মাত্রার হ্রাস হইয়া তাহা পূর্ববর্তী অকারের মাত্রার অঙ্গীভূত হইতে পারে না। এই নিয়মেই সং. মু কু ট, প্রা. ম উ ড়, এ. ম রু ল (< ম উ ল)। এখানে আবার সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইবার সম্ভাবনা নাই। এইরূপেই হিন্দীতে চৌ ত রা শব্দ হি. চ বূ ত রা (সং. চ ত্ত র ক) হইতে নহে, ইহা হইয়াছে হি. চ উ ত রা হইতে।

২৩। ঐকার-ওকারের অন্তর্গত অ ই ও অ উ'র মাত্রা-সম্বন্ধে প্রাতিশাখ্যের সময় হইতে প্রাকৃতের সময়ে এই ভেদ দেখা যাইতেছে যে, প্রাতিশাখ্যের সময়ে তাহাদের মাত্রার নুনাধিক্য থাকিলেও প্রাকৃতের সময়ে স্থানে-স্থানে (অর্থাৎ যেখানে ঐ=অ ই, এবং ও=অ উ) তাহা ছিল না, ঐ উভয়ই অবয়বের মাত্রা সমান-সমান হইয়া গিয়াছিল। কিন্তু স্থানে-স্থানে (যেখানে ঐ=এ, ও=ও) ঐ নুনাধিক্য আরো বেশী হওয়ায় উভয় অবয়বের একটি অপরটিকে টানিয়া লইয়া একবারে আত্মসাৎ করিয়া অন্তর্হিত করিয়া ফেলিয়াছে, ঠিক গ্রীকের গৌণ সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের মত (§ ২০)। এই জতাই এতাদৃশ স্থলে সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের পরিবর্তে এক-একটি অথও স্বরের (একার-ওকারের) শ্রুতি হয়। আমরা এ কথাটা পরে আবার তুলিয়া আলোচনা করিব। প্রাকৃতে যে, ঐকার-ওকারের যথাক্রমে দুই প্রকার পরিবর্তন দেখা যায় (ঐ=অ ই, এ ; ও=অ উ, ও), আমার মনে হয়, ইহাদের মধ্যে অ ই-অ উ পরিবর্তন প্রথমে, এবং এ-ও পরিবর্তন পরে। ইহাও পরে বিবৃত হইবে।

২৪।^ক প্রাচীন আচার্য্যগণের মতে একার-ওকার বস্তুত সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইলেও কিরূপে তাহারা পরে অথও স্বর হইয়া পড়িল ইহা আলোচনা করিবার পূর্বে আমাদিগকে আর একটা কথা বলিয়া লইতে হইবে। একার-ওকার কিরূপে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর তাহা আমরা দেখিয়াছি (§ § ১, ৩), কিন্তু তাহারা সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইলেও সর্কত্র মেরূপ নহে ; স্থান বিশেষে তাহারা বস্তুতই সন্ধ্যাক্ষর (অ ই, অ উ), কিন্তু অপর স্থলে তাহাদিগকে সন্ধ্যাক্ষর বলা চলে না। যেখানে অ+ই=এ, অ+উ=ও, সেখানে ইহারা স্পষ্টই সন্ধ্যাক্ষর, কিন্তু যেখানে ই=এ, যেমন √—দি শ্ হইতে দে শ্-অ ;

এক উ=ও, যেমন $\sqrt{\text{—}}\text{বুধ্}$ হইতে বো ধ্-অ ; সেখানে এই প্রকার একার-ওকারকে সঙ্ক্ষিপ্ত বলা যাইতে পারে না। সেখানে ইহার যথাক্রমে ইকার-উকারেরই একটা অবস্থান্তর, ইকার-উকারই একটা ভিন্ন আকার ধারণ করিয়াছে কারণবিশেষে। কারণবিশেষটা কি এখনি বলিব। এই একার-ওকারের পূর্ব অবয়ব অকার, এবং পর অবয়ব যথাক্রমে ইকার-উকার, ইহা কল্পনা করিবার কোনো যুক্তি নাই। এই যে, ইকার-উকার স্থানে একার-ওকার, আমাদের দেশের পণ্ডিতেরা তাহার নাম দিয়াছেন গুণ, অর্থাৎ ধর্ম, অর্থাৎ এই যে, ইকার-উকার যথাক্রমে একার-ওকার হয় তাহা ইকার-উকারের একটি বিশেষ গুণ, বিশেষ ধর্ম, স্বভাব-বিশেষ ; যেমন, হ্রস্ব অ প্রযুক্তবিশেষে দীর্ঘ হইয়া যায়, দীর্ঘ হওয়া তাহার একটা বিশেষ গুণ, বা ধর্ম, বা স্বভাব। গুণ শব্দের এই ব্যাপক অর্থকে আমাদের দেশের শব্দকগণ একটু সঙ্কুচিত করিয়া ইকার-উকার প্রভৃতিরই তাদৃশ পরিণাম-বিশেষকে বুঝাইবার জন্ত তাহা গ্রহণ করিয়াছেন। তাঁহারা বলিয়াছেন ইহাদের ঐরূপ গুণ ৭ হয়। তাঁহাদের এইরূপ অর্থে ঐ শব্দটির প্রয়োগ যে, অতি সুন্দর ও যুক্তিযুক্ত হইয়াছে তাহা যে-কেহ স্বীকার করিতে বাধ্য হইবেন।

২৪।^১ একার-ওকার কিরূপে ইকার-উকারেরই গুণ বা ধর্ম বিশেষ, তাহা আমরা এইবার আলোচনা করিয়া দেখি। একার-ওকার পূর্বে সঙ্ক্ষিপ্তের মধ্যে পরিগণিত ছিল, তাহাই অনুসরণ করিয়া পরবর্তীও বৈয়াকরণিকেরা বলিতে বাধ্য হইলেন যে, তাহাদের উচ্চারণ-স্থান যথাক্রমে কণ্ঠ-তালু ও কণ্ঠ-ওষ্ঠ। কিন্তু যখন তাহারা কালক্রমে নিজ নিজ সঙ্ক্ষিপ্ত হারাইয়া ফেলিল, অথবা যখন তাহারা বস্তুত সঙ্ক্ষিপ্ত না হইয়া এক-একটি স্বতন্ত্র স্বর হইয়া পড়িল, তখন তাহাদের উচ্চারণস্থান ঐরূপে নির্দেশ করিতে পারা যায় না। তাই আমরা বাজসনেয়ি-প্রাতিশাখ্যে (১.৬৬, ৭০) দেখিতে পাই তাহাদের উচ্চারণ-স্থান যথাক্রমে নির্দিষ্ট হইয়াছে তালু ও ওষ্ঠ, কণ্ঠ-তালু ও কণ্ঠ-ওষ্ঠ নহে,^২ ঠিক ইকার-উকারের মত, অর্থাৎ ই, এ, এই উভয়েরই উচ্চারণ-স্থান তালু ; এবং উ, ও, এই উভয়েরই উচ্চারণ-স্থান ওষ্ঠ।

ইকার-একার ও উকার-ওকারের মধ্যে পরস্পর এরূপ ঘনিষ্ঠ সম্বন্ধ যে, একটুতেই একটি অপরটির রূপ ধারণ করে। ওষ্ঠ হই খানি কিছু খুলিয়া জিহবার মধ্যদেশ তালুতে লাগাইলে (বা বাহা একই কথা, জিহবার মধ্যদেশের জুই পাশ দিয়া হ্রস্বয়ের উপরের স্থান স্পর্শ করিলে) এ-ধ্বনি শোনা যায়। আর ওষ্ঠ হই

খানি তাহা অপেক্ষা কম ফাঁক করিয়া জিহবার মধ্যদেশ তালুতে পূর্ণাপেক্ষা কিঞ্চিৎ বেশী লাগাইলে, অর্থাৎ জিহ্বাকে আরো এতটুকু উঠু করিলে ই-ধ্বনি পাওয়া যায়। ১০ একটু অবহিতভাবে লক্ষ্য করিলেই বুঝা যাইবে, ইকার-উচ্চারণে জিহবার মধ্যদেশ তালুতে যেভাবে সংলগ্ন হয়, একার-উচ্চারণে সেরূপ থাকে না, একটুমাত্র নামিয়া যায়। উকার উচ্চারণ করিতে আমরা ওঠ দুইখানিকে শীঘ্র দিবার সময়ের মত গোল করিয়া জিহ্বাকে ভিতরের দিকে চালাইয়া দিই। কিন্তু ঐ অবস্থাতেই মুখের ফাঁকটা যদি কিছু বেশী হয়, আর জিহ্বাটাও কিছু উঠু করা যায় তাহা হইলে আমরা ও-ধ্বনি শুনিতে পাইব। ১১ এইরূপে সহজেই ইকার-একার ও উকার-ওকারের পরস্পর পরিবর্তন হইয়া থাকে। স্থূলতঃ একটু অবহিতভাবে লক্ষ্য করিলেই বুঝা যাইবে, ইকার-উচ্চারণে মুখবিবরের ফাঁক যতটুকু থাকে একার-উচ্চারণে তাহা তদপেক্ষা বেশী হয়; এইরূপ উকার-উচ্চারণে যতটুকু ফাঁক থাকে ওকার-উচ্চারণে তাহা তদপেক্ষা বেশী হয়। তাই উচ্চারণের সময় একটু এদিক-ওদিক হইলেই ই-উ যথাক্রমে এ-ও হইয়া পড়ে, বা এ-ও যথাক্রমে ই-উ হইয়া যায়। ব্যাকরণের গুণ- বা হ্রস্ব-বিধানের (পাণিনি, ১.১.৪৮) স্থানগুলি^{১২} ছাড়িয়া দিলেও অল্পত্র একের স্থানে অল্পটি দেখা যায়। ‘মঙ্গল’ বা ‘মুখ’ অর্থে ঋগ্বেদে শি ব (৩.৫৮.৫) ও শে ব (৩.৭.৫) উভয়ই প্রয়োগ আছে। লৌকিক সংস্কৃতে ম হি লা, ম হে লা; পী যু ষ, পে যু ষ (তুল্য:—হেম. ৮.১.১০৫, শুভ. ১.২.৫৮), ইত্যাদি অনেক শব্দ আছে। পালিতে সং. ম হি য়ী স্থানে ম হে সী, ডি গু ম স্থানে দে গু ম, গু ছ ক স্থানে গো ছ ক, পু ক র স্থানে পো ক র, ইত্যাদি অনেক প্রাকৃতিক এইরূপ প্রচুর (হেম. ৮.১.৮৫, ১০৬-

৩০। তৈ.প্রাতি. ২.১৫-১৭, ২২-২৩ (ত্রিভুক্ত্য, ২৩)। পরবর্তী টীকা (৩১) ত্রিভুক্ত্য।

৩১। “If the lips are fairly open and the back of tongue raised towards the palate, the larynx being raised at the same time we hear the sound e.” “If we raise the tongue high still and narrow the lips, we hear i.”—Max Müller, *The Science of Language*, 1871, Vol. II, pp. 181-182. “In pronouncing u we round the lips and draw down the tongue so that the cavity of mouth assumes the shape of a bottle without a neck. Such bottle gives the deepest notes, and so does the vowel u.If the lips be opened somewhat wide and the tongue somewhat raised we hear o.” *Ibid*, pp. 129-130.

৩২। যথা, √যু ধ্ হইতে বো ধ তি, এখানে গুণ, আর অ গো স্থলে ওকারকে হ্রস্ব করিয়া অ গু (ধ. ৮.২.১৪)।

১০৭, ১১৬-১১৭, ১২৪-১২৫)। প্রাদেশিক ভাষাতেও এইরূপ অনেক, যথা বা। শু না, শো না ; বু ঝা, বো ঝা ; ইত্যাদি (ভ্রঃ—আমার অ কা র ত ত্ব, ব.সা.প., ১৩২৫, সংখ্যা ১, পৃ. ৪১, টীকা)। ৩৩

২৫। উচ্চারণের স্থান আলোচনা করিয়া আমরা দেখিতে পাইয়াছি, ই-উ যথাক্রমে এ-ও, অথবা এ-ও যথাক্রমে ই-উ হইতে পারে। কিন্তু একজন ইকার-উকার উচ্চারণ করিতে গিয়া একার-ওকার উচ্চারণ করে কেন? সে কি কেবল ভ্রমবশতই এইরূপ করে, অথবা ঐরূপ করিবার অপর কোনো কারণ আছে? একটু আলোচনা করিয়া দেখা যাউক। স্থানান্তরে (অ কা র ত ত্ব, ব. সা. প. ১৩২৫, সংখ্যা ১, পৃ. ৪০) বলিয়াছি, সংযুক্ত বর্ণের পূর্ববর্তী লঘু স্বরও যেমন গুরু হয়, কোনো লঘু স্বরে বৌক পড়িলে তাহাও সেইরূপ গুরু হয়। এই গুরুত্বের অবশ্য তারতম্য আছে। এই হেতু পদান্তর্গত অন্ত্য অক্ষরের লঘুগুরুতাব বা হ্রস্বদীর্ঘতাবের পরিবর্তন হয়, এবং ইকার-উকারও যথাক্রমে একার-ওকার, বা একার-ওকারও যথাক্রমে ইকার-উকার হইতে পারে। পূর্বোল্লিখিত শি ব ও শে ব পদেরও এইরূপে সমাধান করিতে পারা যায়। শি ব শব্দের ইকার অমুদাত্ত, কিন্তু শে ব শব্দের একার উদাত্ত। প্রথম অক্ষরে বৌক পড়াতেই শে ব শব্দে একার (ইস্থানে) হইয়াছে, আর প্রথম অক্ষরে না থাকিয়া দ্বিতীয় অক্ষরে বৌক থাকাতেই শি ব শব্দের ইকারটা একার হইয়া ফুটিয়া উঠিতে পারে নাই। বৈদিক ভাষায় দেখা যায়, দে বী, ব ধু প্রভৃতি শব্দের অন্ত্য অক্ষরে বৌক; অর্থাৎ যথাক্রমে ঈকার ও উকার উদাত্ত। কিন্তু যখন নিয়মামুসারে সম্বোধনের এক বচনে বৌকটা প্রথম অক্ষরে পড়ে—প্রথম অক্ষরটা উদাত্ত হয়, তখন শেষ অক্ষরটি মূলত দীর্ঘ থাকিলেও হ্রস্ব হইয়া যায়, তখন পদ হয় দে বি, ব ধু। এতাদৃশ স্থলে হ্রস্ববিধির এইরূপই সমাধান করিতে পারা যায়। আরো দেখুন, √শী ‘শয়ন করা’ হইতে নি শি তা ‘রাজি’ (তৈ. স., তৈ. ব্রা.), অ নি শি ত ‘চঞ্চল’; এখানে আত্ম অক্ষরে বৌক থাকায় পরবর্তী শী শব্দের ঈকার ইকার হইয়াছে। √স্ব ‘প্রসব করা’ হইতে হি তি কা (অথ.), কিন্তু হি য়ু তি (ঋ.) ‘সুপ্রসব’। ৩৪

৩৩। সময়ে-সময়ে স্থলপৃষ্ঠ উচ্চারণ করিতে না পারার দোষে সন্দেহ হয়, ইহা উকার বা ওকার, অথবা ইহা ঐকার বা একার। ব্যাকরণ-মহাভাষ্যের (গম্পশাফিকে) টীকায় কৈয়ট ইহাকেই পতঞ্জলি-উক্ত এ নী কৃ ত দোষ বলিয়াছেন।

২৬। দেখা যায়, পালি ও প্রাকৃত সংযুক্ত বর্ণের পূর্ববর্তী ইকার-উকার প্রায়ই যথাক্রমে একার-ওকার হইয়াছে, * এবং প্রাকৃত ব্যাকরণ-রচয়িতারা সাধারণত এইরূপেই নিয়ম করিয়াছেন। (হেম. ৮.১.৮৫, ১১৬; শুভ. ১.২.৬৯; যড্ভাষাচল্লিকা, ১.২.৪৮-৬৬=ত্রিবিক্রম ১.২.৪৮; প্রা. প্র. ১.১২ ভামহবৃত্তি।) * ইকার-উকার যেখানে দীর্ঘ হওয়ায় স্বভাবতই গুরু, সেখানেও তাহাদের স্থানে বহু স্থলে যথাক্রমে একার-ওকার হইয়া থাকে। * ইহাতে মনে করা যাইতে পারে, যেক্রমেই হউক গুরুত্ব এইরূপ পরিবর্তনের সহায়তা করে। ঐকার-ওকারের পর অবয়ব গুরু বলিয়াই আবার ঐকার-স্থানে ইকার, ও ঐকার-স্থানে উকার হইয়া যায়। যেমন সং. সৈ দ্ব ব, প্রা. সি দ্ব ব; সং. মো জা য় ন, মু জা য় ন (প্রা. প্র. ১.৪৪)।

পরে সংযুক্ত বর্ণ থাকিলে ই-উ যথাক্রমে এ-ও হয়, এই ধারা প্রাদেশিক ভাষা সমূহেও আসিয়া পৌছিয়াছে। যেমন, সং. বি ফু (প্রা. বে গ্ হ) ইহাতে আমাদের (বি ঠু >) বে ঠ; সং. কৃ ষ > আমাদের কি ঠ > কে ঠ। * এইরূপ সং. কু ঠ, প্রা. কু ট্ঠ, হি. শু. ম. কো ড; সং. কু ক্ষি, প্রা. কু ক্খি, হি. বা. কো খ; সং. ক্ষু দ্র ক, বৌদ্ধ সং. ছু ড় ক প্রা. ছু ট্ঠ অ, হি. ম. মৈ. ছো টা,

৩৫। একটা তালিকা দিতেছি। প্রাকৃত পদগুলি কোনো-কোনো স্থানে বৈকল্পিক। (১) ই=এ। সং. চি হু, প্রা. চে ক; সং. ধ শ্মি ল্ল, প্রা. ধ শ্মে ল্ল; সং. নি দ্রা, প্রা. নে দ্ধা; সং. পি শু, প্রা. পে শু; সং. পি ঠ, প্রা. পে ট্ঠ (সং. পি ঠ ক, প্রা. পে ট্ঠ অ, ক্রমশ পেং ড অ, এবং তাহার পর পেঁ ডা, পে ডা, সাধারণত উচ্চারিত হয় পাঁ ডা, পাঁ ডা); সং. বি ব, প্রা. বে ল্ল; সং. ডি গ্গি ম, পা. দে গ্গি ম। দ্রষ্টব্য—সং. কিং শু ক, প্রা. কে হু অ। (২) উ=ও। সং. উ ট্ঠ, পা. ও ট্ঠ; সং. কু ট্ঠি ম, পা. কো ট্ঠি ম, প্রা. কো ট্ঠি ম; সং. কু ঠ, প্রা. কো ঠ; সং. কু স্ত, প্রা. কো স্ত; সং. কু ঞ্জা গ্গী, প্রা. কো হ গ্গী; সং. কু প্প র, প্রা. কো প্প র; সং. তু শু, প্রা. তো শু; সং. পু দ্গ ল, প্রা. পো গ্গ ল; সং. পু স্ত ক, পা. পো থ ক, প্রা. পো থ অ; সং. মু দ্গ র, প্রা. মো গ্গ র; সং. মু স্তা, প্রা. মো ষা; সং. মু ল্য, প্রা. মো ল্ল; সং. লু ক ক, প্রা. লো ক্খ অ।

৩৬। এই নিয়মের ব্যতিচারও আছে। যেমন, চি স্তা কখনো চে স্তা দেখা যায় না। আবার ইহাদের করা কোনো নিয়মের মধ্যে না আসিলেও সং. কু হু স্ত, প্রা. কো হু স্ত।

৩৭। সং. আ পী ড়, প্রা. আ বে ড়; সং. কী দৃ শ, প্রা. কে ন্নি স; সং. নী ড়, প্রা. নে ড়; সং. পী ঠ, প্রা. পে চ; সং. পী য় ব, প্রা. পে উ স; সং. গু ড় চী, প্রা. গ লো ঙ্গ, পা. গো লো চী; সং. তা ধু ল, প্রা. ত ধো ল; সং. ধু ল, প্রা. ধো র।

৩৮। আমার মনে হয়, বাঙালীর কি ঠ, কে ঠ প্রভৃতি শব্দে বস্তুত শকার, ষকার নহে। কে ষ্ ট < কি ষ্ ট < কৃ ষ, কৃ ষ > ক্রে ষ > কে ষ্ ট নহে। কি ষ্ ট শব্দ বাঙালী থুবই প্রচলিত থাকায় তাহা হইতেই কে ষ্ ট হওয়ার সম্ভাবনা বেশী।

ঞ. ছৌ টু, বা. ও. ছৌ ট ; সং. (ঔ) শু ন্ধ; বা. মৌ প ; সং. চ ধু, হি. ম. চৌ চ ;
সং. ছি ত্র, প্রা. ছি দ, হি. ছে দ, বা. ছেঁ দা (< সং. ছি ত্র ক) ; সং. স ক্খি, বা.
সী খ, হি. সৈ খ ; ইত্যাদি ।

২৭। আমরা পূর্বে (§ ২৪^ক) বলিয়া আসিয়াছি, একার ওকার সর্বত্র স দ্যাক্ষর হইতে পারে না। কিন্তু যেখানে ইহাদিগকে স্পষ্টত স দ্যাক্ষর না বলিলে চলে না (যেমন, দে ব+ই ত্র=দে বে ত্র, চ ত্র+উ দ য=চ ত্রো দ য), সেখানে ইহার ক্রিকে এক-একটি অণ্ড স্বরের ভ্রায় হইয়া পড়িল ? একার বস্ত্ত অ^১ই উচ্চারিত না হইয়া, অথবা ওকার বস্ত্ত অ^১উ উচ্চারিত না হইয়া যথাক্রমে বর্ত্তমানের একার-ওকার হইয়া গেল ক্রিকে ? ইহার সমাধান নিম্নলিখিতরূপে করিতে পারা যায়। আমরা দেখিয়াছি (§ ২৪^খ) যেরূপেই হউক, ই-উ এই দুইটি অণ্ড স্বর অতি সহজেই যথাক্রমে এ-ও হইয়া যায়। সন্ধিস্থলেও, যেখানে স্পষ্টতই অকারের পর ইকার-উকার থাকে সেখানেও, আকারের সহিত ইকার-উকার এইরূপেই যথাক্রমে প্রথমে অ+এ, অ+ও হইয়া যায় ; তাহার পর, পূর্বের অকারটি পরের একার-ওকারে একবারে অন্তর্হিত হইয়া পড়ে (§ ৪)। এ কথাটা শুনিতে কাহারো-কাহারো নিকটে অদ্ভুত বা নূতন ঠেকিতে পারে ; কিন্তু কেবল পালি-প্রাকৃত নহে, সংস্কৃতও এ জাতীয় সন্ধির প্রচুর উদাহরণ আছে। এরূপ সন্ধি আছে যেখানে পূর্ব স্বরটি পর স্বরে অন্তর্হিত হইয়া যায় ; যেমন, পালিতে দে ব+ই ন্ধ=দে বি ন্ধ (সং. দে বে ত্র)। এখানে পরবর্ত্তী ইকার গুরু বলিয়া পূর্ববর্ত্তী অকার তাহাতে অন্তর্হিত হইয়া গিয়াছে। রা গ+অ ণ্ণি=রা গ ণ্ণি (সং. রা গা ণ্ণি)। এখানেও পরবর্ত্তী অকার গুরু বলিয়া ইহাতেই পূর্বের অকার অন্তর্হিত হইয়াছে। এইরূপ স্ত্র দ্ধ+ও দ ন=স্ত্র দ্ধো দ ন (সং. শু দ্ধো দ ন)। প ন+এ সো=প নে সো (সং. পু ন রে ষঃ)। সংস্কৃতে √প চ্+অ+অ স্তি=প চ স্তি, এখানেও তাই। আবার এমনো সন্ধি আছে, যেখানে পর স্বর পূর্ব স্বরে অন্তর্হিত হয়। যেমন পালিতে চ ভা রো + ই মে = চ ভা রো মে (সং. চ ভা র ই মে), এখানে পরবর্ত্তী ইকার পূর্ববর্ত্তী গুরু স্বর ওকারে অন্তর্হিত হইয়াছে। ৩১ সংস্কৃতের হ রে + অ ত্র =হ রে ত্র (=হ রে ২ ত্র), বি ষো + অ ত্র =বি ষো ত্র (=বি ষো ২ ত্র), এখানে পূর্বের গুরু একার-ওকারে পরের লঘু অকার অন্তর্হিত (পাণিনি, ৬.১.১০৯)। এতাদৃশ স্থলে ব্যাকরণে পারিভাষিক ভাবে বলা হয় উভয় স্থানে পূর্বরূপ একাদেশ হয়। আবার, প্র+এ জ তে+প্রৈ ক্ষ তে, উ প+ও ষ তি=উ পো ষ তি ; এখানে

পূর্বের অকার পরের একার-ওকারে অন্তর্হিত (পাণি ৬.১.৯৪-৯৫)। শ ক + অ দ্ব = শ ক দ্ব, ম ন (স) + ঙ্গ যা = ম নী যা, ক ল + অ টা = ক ল টা, ইত্যাদি স্থলেও একটা স্বর অপরটায় অন্তর্হিত। ঋগ্বেদের ত তা র + এ বে দ্ = ত তা রে বে দ্ (৭. ৩৩.৩) ; ই ব + এ ত য় = ই বে ত য় (১০.৯১.৪) ; য থা + ও চি ষে = য থো চি ষে (৮.৮২.২) ; য থা + ও হি ষে = য থো হি ষে (৮.৫.৩) ; এখানেও সেইরূপ। আবার বৈদিক ভাষাতে আছে ত্রি + ঋ চ্ = ত্ৰ চ্, দ্বি + ঋ চ্ = দ্বি চ্, ত্রি + এ নী = ত্রে নী (আপস্তম্ব-গৃহ্যসূত্র ১৪.৩, ১৬.৬)। আরো দেখুন। √ধা হইতে পরোক্ষ বা লিটে ১ম পু. দ্বিবচনে দ ধা + অ তু স্ = দ ধ তুঃ, বহুবচনে + উ স্ = দ ধুঃ, মধ্যম পু. এক. + ই + থ = দ ধি থ; এখানে পূর্ববর্তী আকার যথাক্রমে পরবর্তী অকার, উকার ও ইকারে অন্তর্হিত হইয়াছে। ৪১

২৮। সন্ধির এই পদ্ধতি অনুসরণ করিলে বহু শব্দের সমাধান হইতে পারে। দ্বি + অ প = দ্বী প, এখানে পূর্বের ইকার কোনোরূপে গুরু বা দীর্ঘ ভাবে উচ্চারিত হওয়ায়, অথবা যে-কোনোরূপেই ইউক উহার ধ্বনি প্রবলতর হওয়ায় পরবর্তী অকার তাহারই মধ্যে গ্রস্ত হইয়াছে। এইরূপে নি + অ প = নীপ, প্র তি + অ প = প্র তী প, প্র তি + অ ক (√অচ্) = প্র তী ক, অ নু + অ প = অ নু প; সং. অ বৈ ত, (* অ ব ই ত) হি. অ বী ত; সং. ধৈ র্য্য, প্রা. ধী র (বরুচি ১.৩৯; হেম. ২.৬৪) ; ইহার ক্রম পরিবর্তন এইরূপ :—ধৈ র্য্য > ধ ই য়ির (অথবা ধা ই য়ির) > ধ ই ই র (অথবা ধা ই ই র) > ধ ঙ্গ র (অথবা ধা ঙ্গ র) > ধী র। ৪২

৪০। এখানে স্বীকার করিতেই হইবে, অন্তর অকারে বৌক পড়ায় একটি অন্তর্হিতে অন্তর্হিত হইয়াছে। সাদৃশ্যেও এইরূপ হওয়া অসম্ভব নহে।

৪১। ভাষান্তরেও এইরূপ আছে। এবং ইহা খুবই স্বাভাবিক। যথা গ্রীক ভাষায় φιλέω হইতে φιλω 'I love'.

৪২। ইহাই দেখিয়া কেহ-কেহ বলিতে পারেন, আলোচ্য নিয়মেই √গৈ হইতে গী ত, ও √ধৈ হইতে ধাত হইয়াছে। কারণ, ঐ = আ ই ; এই আকার-ইকারের মধ্যে যখন যে স্বরটি যে-কোনো কারণে অপরটি অপেক্ষা কিছু উচ্চ- বা দীর্ঘ-তরু ভাবে, অথবা কিছু টান দিয়া উচ্চারিত হয় তখন তাহারই মধ্যে অপর স্বরটি অন্তর্হিত হইয়া যায়; উচ্চ ধ্বনির নিকটে অনুচ্চ ধ্বনি শুনিতে পাওয়া যায় না। তাই যখন তাহাদের মধ্যে ইকার প্রবলতর (ঙ্গকার) হইয়া উঠে, তখন আকারের দুর্বল ধ্বনি আর শুনিতে পাওয়া যায় না, তাহা প্রবলতর ধ্বনির মধ্যে মিশিয়া যায়, এবং এইরূপেই ঐকার বস্তত ঙ্গকার হইয়া পড়ে। অতএব, এইরূপে আমরা অনায়াসেই √গৈ হইতে গী ত পাইতে পারি।

২৯। সন্ধিস্থলে একার ওকার যে, এক দিন বস্তুতই প্রথমত যথাক্রমে অ এ, অ ও ছিল, অবন্তারও ভাবায় তাহা প্রমাণিত হয়। সং. এ ত ৭, অব. অ এ ত ৭; সং. বেদ (ক্রিয়াপদ), অব. ব এ দা; ইত্যাদি। এখানে স্পষ্টতই সং. এ=অব. অ এ। ওকার সম্বন্ধেও এইরূপ। সং. ও জঃ, অব. অ ও জো; সং. যো হ স্তি, অব. র ও ধে স্তি। সন্ধিস্থলেও ঠিক এইরূপ পাওয়া যায়। যথা, সং. উ পে ত (উপ+ইত), অব. উ প এ ত; সং. প্রো ক্ত (প্র+উ ক্ত, অব. ফ ও খ্ ত; ইত্যাদি। ৪৪ অতএব আমরা বলিতে পারি, একার-ওকার যেখানে স্পষ্টত সন্ধ্য ক র সেখানে একার-ওকারের অন্তর্গত অ ই, অ উ যথাক্রমে প্রথমে অ এ, অ ও হইয়া পরে এ, ও হইয়া গিয়াছে।

৩০। মূল সংস্কৃত বা প্রাকৃতের কোন্-কোন্ স্বর বাঙলায় সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের আকার গ্রহণ করিয়াছে এইবার আমরা তাহা আলোচনা করিব।

আবার ঠিক এইরূপেই যখন আকারের ধ্বনি প্রবলতর হইয়া উঠে, তখন দুর্বল ই-ধ্বনি তাহাতে গুণ হইয়া যায়, এবং ঐকার বস্তুত আকার হইয়া পড়ে। তাই আমরা √ধ্য হইতে ধ্যা ত পদ পাইয়া থাকি।

কিন্তু ইহা ঠিক বলা হয় না, যদিও নিয়মটি ঠিক। গী ত ও ধ্যা ত শব্দের মূল ধাতু দুইটি যদি যথাক্রমে বস্তুত √গৈ ও √ধ্য হইত, তবে উল্লিখিত উক্তিটি ঠিকই হইক। সত্য কথা, আমাদের দেশের বৈয়াকরণিকেরা আলোচ্য ধাতু দুইটিকে ঐরূপেই ধরিয়াছেন; কিন্তু পাশ্চাত্য পণ্ডিতগণ একারান্ত, ওকারান্ত, ও ঐকারান্ত ধাতুসমূহের প্রকৃতি পর্যালোচনা করিয়া (দ্র :—পাণিনি, ৬.১.৪৫) ইহাদিগকে মূলত আকারান্ত বলিয়াই স্থির করিয়াছেন (Whitney : Sanskrit Grammar, §§ 251, 761 d ff.) অতএব গী ত প্রভৃতি পদকে অস্ত্র প্রকারে ব্যাখ্যা করিতে হইবে (§ ৩৪)।

গা র তি, ধ্যা র তি, ইত্যাদি পদে *যকারেরই ব্যাখ্যা করিবার অভিপ্রায়ে আমাদের ব্যাকরণে উহাদের মূল ধাতুকে √গৈ, √ধ্য করিয়া নির্দেশ করা হইয়াছে; কেন না তাহা হইলে গৈ+অ+তি, ধ্যে+অ+তি হইতে অনায়াসেই গা র তি, ধ্যা র তি পদ হইতে পারে। বস্তুত গা+অ+তি, ধ্যা+অ+তি, এখানে য-শ্রুতির নিয়মে য হইয়া থাকে। য ট+ওঃ=য ট য়োঃ, এখানেও ঐ য-শ্রুতি। অস্ত্রজও এইরূপ। অষ্টব্য—আমার “য-শ্রুতি”-নামক প্রবন্ধ (শাস্তি নিকেতন পত্রিকা, ১৯২৭, বৈশাখ)।

৪৩। Jackson : Avesta Grammar, Part 1, p, 21; Brugmann, Vol 1. p, 40. অবন্তার উল্লিখিত ও অস্ত্রান্ত শব্দ দেখিলে স্পষ্টই বুঝা যাইবে, যেখানে একার-ওকার বস্তুত সন্ধ্য ক র নহে (যেমন, দ এ ব (সং. দে ব), অ ও জো (সং. ও জঃ), সেখানেও সন্ধ্য ক র হলের স্থায় (যেমন ক্র ও খ্ ত, ক্র এ যো ই তি (সং. প্রো ক্ত, প্রে ব র তি), যথাক্রমে অ এ, অ ও এই আকারে রহিয়াছে। ইহা দেখিয়া মনে করা যাইতে পারে, অতিপূর্বে ইহাদের সর্বত্রই এইরূপ উচ্চারণ ছিল, এবং তাহা হইতেই সন্ধ্য ক র নাম হইয়াছে।

৩১। অ=এ। সং. ন কুল, বা. ও. নে উ ল; ৪৪ সং. গ ত ক, প্রা. গ দ অ অথবা গ ড় অ, * গ ল অ, ও. গ লা, ম. গে ল, বা. গে লা। প্রাকৃত (হেম. ৮. ১. ৫৭-৫৮) ও অন্যান্য প্রাদেশিক ভাষাতে এইরূপ অনেক। সং. ফ ল শু, প্রা. ফে গ্ শু; সং. শ য্যা, শে য্যা (=শয্যা, “স হ শে য্যা য়”, ধ. ১০.১০.৭; পালিতেও স হ সে য্যা পদ সুপ্রসিদ্ধ, ভিক্ষুপাতিমোক্ষ=বিনয়-সুত্রবিভঙ্গ, পাচি. ৫। পালি স হ সে য্যা শব্দের চতুর্থীর একবচনে স হ সে য্যা য়।), প্রা. সে জ্জা, হি. সে জ, ম. ও. বা. শে জ; সং. ক ন্দু ক, প্রা. গে ন্দু অ, * গে ন্দ অ, প. হি. ম. শু. বা. মৈ দ (তুলঃ বা. মৈ দা ফুল); সং. ব ল্লী, প্রা. বে ল্লী, বা. হি. বে লি (বেলী, ‘ফুল’ বা ‘লতা’); সং. অ ত্র, প্রা. এ থ, * এ থ অ (< * অ ত্র ক), ৪৪^ক বা. এ থা, হে থা, ও. এ ঠা, য়ে ঠা; সং. য ত্র, প্রা. জ থ, প. জি থ, বা. জে থা (যে থা), ম. যে থে (জে থে), দি. জি তি; সং. ত ত্র, প্রা. ত থ; ম. তে থে, (তুলঃ বা. সে থা, ত থা), প. তি থ (অল্প প্রয়োগ), দি. তি তি; সং. ম গু ক, ম. বে ড়ু ক; সং. গ শু ক (‘গণ্ডার’), প্রা. গ শু অ; শু. মৈ ড়ো; সং. ত ট ‘নদী-তীর’ শু. তে ড়; সং. ঘ ট, শু. বে ড় ‘ছোট ঘট’; সং. গৃ হ, প্রা. ঘ র, শু. ঘের (‘ঘের জবু’) সং. (?) ল শু ‘কঠিন ও দীর্ঘ মল,’ প্রা. ল শু, ম. লেং ড (লৈড), লেং ডুক (লৈডুক), ম. হি. লেং ডী (লি’ডী), বা. নে ডী, নে ড়; সং. স শু তি, প্রা. স শু রি, (হেম. ৮.১.২১০) বা. ম. হি. স শু র, শু. সীতের; সং. এক স শু তি, প্রা. এক (অ) স শু রি, ম. এক হ শু র, বা. একা শু র, হি. একা শু র, কিন্তু শু. একো তে র; গুজরাতে এইরূপ তো তে র (৭৩), চুমো তে র (৭৪), অ ঠো তে র (৭৮); সং. স শু দ শ, প্রা. স শু র হ, হি. স শু র হ, ম. স ত রা, শু. স শু র, বা. স ত র এবং স তে র।

আবার আরবী ক রা ম (كرامت) ‘দৈব শক্তি’ ‘বিভূতি’, বা. কে রা ম ৭; আরবী ন হ র ‘জল প্রণালী’ (نهر), শু. নে হের; আ. ন শা (نشا), বা. নি শা, নে শা; আ. ফা. তারী থ (تاریخ), শু. তে রী থ।

৩২। মূল অকার-স্থানে বাঙলায় আরো অনেক শব্দে একার দেখা যায়; আলোচনার সুবিধার জন্ত আমরা এই সকল শব্দ পরে উল্লেখ করিব। সম্প্রতি নিম্নলিখিত শব্দগুলি দেখিয়া বুঝা যাইবে, অকার-স্থানে একার হইবার রীতি পালি-প্রাকৃতের বহু পূর্বে হিন্দ-ইউরোপীয় ভাষাসমূহেও ছিল। ক্রমশ উদাহরণ

৪৪। তুল-প্রা. নে উ র (সং. নু পূ র)।

৪৪^ক। Geiger (*Pali Literature und Sprache* § 9) বলেন, প্রা. এ থ সং. অ ত্র হইতে নহে,

* ই ত্র (=অবে. ই.থ.) হইতে।

দিত্তেছি। বৈদিক সংস্কৃতে $\sqrt{অ স্}$ ‘হওয়া’ হইতে (অমুক্তা, মধ্যম, একবচনে অ স্+হি=অ স্ ধি= * অ জ্ ধি= ৪০) এ ধি (অবে. জ্ দী ৪০); সং. $\sqrt{দা+হি}$ হইতে দ দ্ ধি (ঋ. ৪.২০.৭, ইত্যাদি), সং. দে হি, (ধে হি ৪১); অব. ন জ্ দ্যো, সং. নে দী য় স্; অব. ন জ্ দি শ্ ত, সং. নে দি ঠ, ইত্যাদি ৪৮। আবার $\sqrt{স হ্}$ হইতে (আ ন প্রত্যয়) সে হা ন, $\sqrt{শ ক্}$ হইতে (পরোক্ষে) শে কুঃ; এইরূপ $\sqrt{স দ্}$ হইতে সে দুঃ; $\sqrt{প ত্}$ হইতে পে তুঃ; পে ত থুঃ; $\sqrt{প চ্}$ হইতে পে চে; ইত্যাদি। ইহা ছাড়া লৌকিক সংস্কৃতে পে চ তুঃ, পে চুঃ ($\sqrt{প চ্}$), নে ম তুঃ, নে মুঃ ($\sqrt{ন ম্}$); ইত্যাদি পদ অপ্রসিদ্ধ (পাণি. ৬.৪.১২০)।

অবেস্তাতেও অনেক। যথা, সং. প্র ত ম > প্র থ ম, অব. ফ্র তে ম; সং. উ প ম ‘সর্বোৎকৃষ্টতম’ (ঋ.), অব. উ পে ম; ইত্যাদি। (অবেস্তার এই একার হ্রস্বতম, ধ্বনিতত্ত্ববিদেরা ইহাকে উল্টা e, অথাৎ o দিয়া প্রকাশ করেন, যথা, *fratema*, *upema*; এসম্বন্ধে পরে আরো আলোচনা করা হইবে, দ্রষ্টব্য—§ ৩৫.)।

হিন্দ-ইউরোপীয় অজ্ঞাত ভাষায়। যথা, সং. অ’ স্-তি ($\sqrt{অ স্}$ ‘হওয়া’), গ্রী. *’εσ-τι* (*es-ti*), লাতিন. *es-t*, গথ. *is-t*,^{৪২} লিথ. *es-ti*; সং. ভ’ রা মি ($\sqrt{ভ্}$ ‘ধারণ করা’, ‘পোষণ করা’), গ্রী. *φέρ-ω* (*phér-ō*), লাতিন. *fer-o*, আ. *ber-im*, প্রা. স্লাব *ber-a*; সং. অ’ স্ব স্, গ্রী. *’ιππο-ς*, *’ικκο-ς* (*híp-po-s*, *íkko-s*), লাতিন. *equu-s*; সং. অ’ হ’ ম্, গ্রী. *εγώ* (*ègo*), লাতিন. *ego*, গথ. *ik*; সং. ন’ ত স্, গ্রী. *νέφ-ος* (*néph-os*) লাতিন. *uëbula*, স্লাব. *nebo*, জা. *nëbal*, *nëbul*; সং. জ’ ন স্, গ্রী. *γεν-ος* (*gènn-os*), লাতিন. *gennu-s*; সং. ন’ ব স্; গ্রী. *νέο-ς* (*nèò-s*); সং. প’ ঞ ন্, গ্রী. *πέντε* (*pénte*).

৩৩। এখানে একটা কথা আছে। আদিম সংস্কৃতিরই অকারকে গ্রীক প্রভৃতি একার করিয়াছে, অথবা আদিম গ্রীক প্রভৃতিরই একারকে সংস্কৃত অকার করিয়াছে? Bopp, Grimm প্রভৃতি পূর্ববর্তী ভাষাতত্ত্ববিদগণ স্থির করিয়াছিলেন,

৪০। স=জ। অব. অজ্=সং. এ (বহু বুলে)।

৪১। তুলঃ—বর্তমান, প্রথম পু. ধি. $\sqrt{অ স্}$ —তঃ=স্ তঃ (=তঃ)।

৪২। সং. দে হি ও ধে হি উভয়ই অব্যস্তার দ জ্ দি।

৪৩। Macdonell : *Vedic Grammar*, pp. 9 (Wackernagel, I, 34^a) ; Gune : *Introduction to Comparative Philology*, p. 139.

৪৪। এতাবশ্য স্থানে i, ই, বস্তুত একারেরই দুর্বল আকার বা অবস্থা (weak grade)।

হিন্দইয়ুরোপীয় ভাষার আদিম ধ্বনিকে সংস্কৃতই রক্ষা করিয়াছে; কিন্তু পরবর্তী Amelung, Brugmann প্রভৃতি দেখিয়াছেন, ঐ আদিম ধ্বনিকে সংস্কৃত অপেক্ষা গ্রীকই রক্ষা করিয়াছে বেশী। নিম্নলিখিত বিষয়টি অনুসরণ করিলে পরবর্তী মতটিকেই স্বীকার করিতে হয়।

৩৪। সংস্কৃতের অকার গ্রীক প্রভৃতিতে যেমন একার হয়, সেইরূপ স্থানে-স্থানে ওকারও হইয়া থাকে; আবার কোনো কোনো স্থানে অকারই থাকে। যথা, সং. অ ঙ্গী, গ্রী. *o'κρω'*, লাত. *octō*; সং. অ জ তি (✓অ জ 'গমন করা'), গ্রী. *'α'γω* (*a'gō*), লাত. *a'gō*; সং. অ ক্ষ স্, অথবা অ ক্ষ ন্, গ্রী. *'α'ξων* (*hákōn*), লাত. *axis*। অতএব সং. অ = গ্রী. প্রভৃতির অ, এ, ও। এখন কথা হইতেছে, সংস্কৃতের (১) যে অকার গ্রীক-প্রভৃতিতে একার, এবং (২) যে অকার গ্রীক-প্রভৃতিতে অকার বা ওকার, সংস্কৃতের এই দুই অকার পরস্পর অভিন্ন, অথবা ইহাদের মধ্যে কোনো কিছু ভেদ আছে? বলিতে হইবে, ইহাদের মধ্যে কিছু ভেদ আছে। (১) প্রথম অকারটি নিশ্চয়ই একটু ইকার-রঞ্জিত, ইকার-ঘেসা, পূর্বে ইহাতে একটু ইকারের আমেজ ছিল। উহাতে ইকারের আমেজ ছিল বলিয়াই পূর্বোক্ত অবস্থা ও গ্রীক প্রভৃতির শব্দে তাহা একার হইয়া ফুটিয়া উঠিয়াছে। সংস্কৃতেও ইহা স্পষ্ট দেখা যায়। সংস্কৃতে দেখা যায়, অকার বা আকার-স্থানে এ, অথবা ইহারই দুর্বল আকার (*weak grade*) ই হইয়াছে। যথা, সং. ✓স্থা + ত = স্থি-ত, গ্রী. *stato's* (*stato's*), লাত. *status*; + তি = স্থি-তি, এবং উহা হইতেই (গিজন্তে লুঙ্) অ'-তি ঠ-প ম্, (সনন্তে) তি ঠা-স-তি; ✓ধা + ত = ধি-ত = হি-ত; ✓দা হইতে দি-ৎ-স-স্তু, অ' দি-ত। এইরূপ ✓পা হইতে পী ত, পি পা-স-তি। এই, এবং এই-জাতীয় আরো বহু শব্দ বৈদিক সংস্কৃতে আছে। বলা বাহুল্য, সকলেই জানেন, লৌকিক সংস্কৃতে এইরূপ উদাহরণ রাশি-রাশি পাওয়া যায়। এই সকল স্থানে অ (অর্থাৎ ঞ, আ) মূলত ইকার-রঞ্জিত না থাকিলে এই ইকার আসিতে পারে না। আরো দেখুন। কৰ্ম্ববাচ্যে ✓দা হইতে দী য়ে তে, ✓পা হইতে পী য়ে তে, ইত্যাদিরও সমাধান ঐরূপ ভিন্ন হয় না। * এখানে ইহাও লক্ষ্য করিতে হইবে যে, দী য়ে তে প্রভৃতি স্থলে তালব্য বর্ণ যকার থাকায় পূর্ববর্তী অবর্ণে (আলোচ্য স্থলে আকারে) অন্তর্হিত তালব্য ইকার ফুটিয়া উঠিবার বিশেষ সুবিধা পাইয়াছে, এবং তাহাতেই ইকারটা দীর্ঘ ই (অর্থাৎ ঞ) হইয়া গিয়াছে। আবার অন্তত ইহারাই ঝাঁক

পাওয়ায় একবারে একার হইয়া গিয়াছে। যথা, $\sqrt{দা} + য = দে য$, $\sqrt{পা} + য = পে য$, ইত্যাদি। এই নিয়মেই $\sqrt{পা} + ত' র্ (তু)$ হইতে পিত' র্ (পিতা), অবৈ. পিত' র্ (আবার পত' র্), ফা. পদ' র্ (πατήρ), গ্রী. πατήρ (patēr), লাত. pater, গথ. fadar, জা. vater, ইং. father। এখানে পিতৃ শব্দের দ্বিতীয় অক্ষরে বোঁক থাকায় প্রথম অক্ষর ইকারটা একার হইতে পারে নাই।

৩৪। পালি ও প্রাকৃততেও এইরূপ বহু ক্রিয়াপদ আছে। পালিতে $\sqrt{দা}$ হইতে দদাতি প্রভৃতি পদের স্থানে বিকল্পে দেতি, দেন্তি; $\sqrt{ধা}$ হইতে ধেতি, ধেন্তি; $\sqrt{ঠা}$ (সং. $\sqrt{স্থা}$) হইতে (অধি ট্-) ঠেতি, ঠেন্তি ইত্যাদি সাধারণত হইয়া থাকে (পালিপ্রকাশ, পৃ. ১৭৩, ১৮৯)। আবার সংস্কৃতে যেখানে বদতি, বদন্তি, ইত্যাদি, পালিতে সেখানে বিকল্পে বদেতি, বদেন্তি ইত্যাদি (ক. বু. ৩. ৪. ২১; মহাকরপসিক্কি, সিংহল, পৃ. ১২৩ স্থ. ৪৭২; পালিপ্রকাশ, পৃ. ১৭৪)। প্রাকৃততেও ঠিক এইরূপ। সং. দদাতি, প্রা. দেই < দেতি, ইত্যাদি (হেম. ৮. ৩. ১৭৪, ৮. ৪. ২৩৮)। আবার, সং. হসতি, প্রা. হসই বিকল্পে হসেই; সং. শৃণোতু, প্রা. শৃণেউ (হেম. ৮. ৩. ১৫৮)।

৩৫। এই আলোচ্যমান অবর্ণের ধ্বনি পূর্বকালে কিরূপ ছিল তাহা ঠিক স্পষ্ট করিয়া নির্দেশ করা না গেলেও পণ্ডিতেরা বলেন যে, অকারকে ইকার-রঞ্জিত করিয়া উচ্চারণ করিলে যে ধ্বনি পাওয়া যায়, তাহা কতকটা সেইরূপ; ইহাকে অকার-ইকারের মধ্যবর্তী ধ্বনি বলিলেও চলে।^{১১} ইহা schwa নামে কথিত হয় এবং অব্যক্ত স্বরধ্বনির প্রকাশক ঐ (উল্টা ঐ) দ্বারা প্রকাশিত হইয়া থাকে (Gune, pp. 119, 142)।

৩৬। আমরা এখানে ই-রঞ্জিত যে অধ্বনির পরিচয় পাইলাম, এবং যাহার প্রভাব সংস্কৃতেও বহুলভাবে দেখা গেল, পরে আমরা দেখিতে পাইব, আমাদের প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহেও এই অ-ধ্বনি কিরূপ ও কতদূর কার্য্য করিয়াছে। আমাদের বর্তমান প্রাদেশিক ভাষা- ও বিভাষা-সমূহের মূলস্বরূপ প্রাকৃতের সহিত যখন সেই প্রাচীন বৈদিক কথ্যভাষা বা তাহার বিভাষায় বিশেষ ভাবে সঙ্গ ছিল, তখন ইহার প্রভাব প্রাকৃতের ভিতর দিয়া বর্তমান প্রাদেশিক ভাষা- ও বিভাষা-সমূহের মধ্যে যে দেখা যাইতে পারে, তাহাতে বিস্মিত হইবার কারণ নাই। হিন্দ-ইউরোপীয় মূল ভাষারও ছায়া ইহাতে দেখা গেলে তাহাও বিস্ময়ের বিষয় বা অসম্ভাবনীয় ব্যাপার বলিয়া মনে করিতে পারা যায় না। যদি এই বিষয়ে বর্তমান লেখক সীমা উল্লঙ্ঘন

করিয়া থাকেন, তবে বিশেষজ্ঞগণ ইহাকে অনুগ্রহপূর্বক বুঝাইয়া দিয়া সাবধান করিয়া দিবেন।

৩৭। কোথায় বা কি অবস্থায় অকার-স্থানে একার হয় আমরা এখন তাহাই অনুসন্ধান করিতে চেষ্টা করিব।

• অবেষ্টায় একটি নিয়ম দেখা যায় যে, শেষে ন, অথবা ম এবং কখনো-কখনো ব থাকিলে পূর্বের অকারটি একার (হ্রস্বতম, ৩; কখনো-কখনো বা ইহাই দীর্ঘ ৩ হয়) হয়।^{২২} যথা—

সং.	অবে.
ন ম স্	নে ম হ্
স স্ত ম্	হে স্তে ম্
(অ) বি ন্ ন্	বি দে ন্
অ হ ম্	অ জে ম্
পু ত্র ম্	পু থে ম্
শ বি ঠ্	সে বি শ্ ত ^{২৩}

এতাদৃশ স্থলে অবেষ্টায় সময়ে-সময়ে^{২৪} একারের পরিবর্তে ইকারও দেখা যায়। যেমন, সং. য ম্, অবে. যি ম্; সং. বা চ ম্, অবে. বা চি ম্, বা চে ম্।

৩৮। ন অথবা ম পরে থাকিলে সংস্কৃতেও কখনো কখনো পূর্ববর্তী অকার-স্থানে একার, আবার তাহারই দ্রবল অবস্থা ইকার হইয়া থাকে। যথা \sqrt{n} ম্ হইতে (+ই) নে মি. (ঋ.) ‘চাকার ধার’; \sqrt{sh} ন্+য=থে য (খা ত্র, পানি. ৩.১.

^{২২}। Jackson : Avesta Grammar, p. 9. Brugmann, vol. I p. 88.

^{২৩}। এখানে একটা কথা লক্ষ্য করিবার আছে। অবেষ্টার হস্তলিখিত পুঁথীসমূহে কখনো-কখনো আলোচ্য অকার-একার লইয়া পাঠভেদ আছে। যেমন, কোনো স্থানে জ স স্ত, অন্ত্র জ সে স্ত্ (jasentu), সং. গ চ্ছ ত্ত্; এইরূপ অবে. ব জ স্তি, ব জে স্তি (vajenti), সং. ব্র জ স্তি। তুলঃ—পালি ব দ স্তি, ব দে স্তি, ইত্যাদি (§ ৩৪)।

^{২৪}। অকারের পূর্বে য, চ, জ, ঝ (Z'), এই কয়টি তালব্য বর্ণ থাকিলে। এখানে এই তালব্য বর্ণের প্রভাবেই ইকার হয়। পরবর্তী অবেষ্টায় প্রাচীন অকারকে একার করিবার কোনো নিয়ম লক্ষিত হয় নাই।

১১, ১২০); ** \sqrt{f} ৭. (ন) (?) হইতে ফে ন (ঋ.); ** \sqrt{j} ন+য হইতে জে ঞ (ঋ.) = জ ঞ ('যভিজাত' 'প্রোজুত'); ** \sqrt{n} ম+ন=নিম্ন; ** \sqrt{h} ন+ম=হিম; ** ত ম (স্) +র= + ত ম র [তুলঃ— অ ধ (স্) +র= অ ধ র, +ম=অ ধ ম] > তি মি র (প্রা. জা. demar)। ** প্রকৃষ্টমত-বাচক ত ম প্রত্যয়ের রূপান্তর ম প্রত্যয়ের যোগে ঋগ্ধেদে সর্বত্রই অ ধ-ম; [অ প-ম ইত্যাদি ** পদ দেখা যায়, কিন্তু এক স্থলে (৫.৫৪.৯) অ গ্র-ম না হইয়া অ গ্রি ম। আবার আ দি+ম= আ দি ম, ঠিকই হইয়াছে। কিন্তু অ গ্রি ম শব্দ আ দি ম শব্দের সাদৃশ্যে ই ম প্রত্যয়ের সৃষ্টি করায় হইয়াছে। তাই যদিও ঋগ্ধেদ-প্রভৃতিতে অশ্ব ম, তথাপি লৌকিক সংস্কৃতে অ স্তি ম ইত্যাদি, এবং পালিতে পু রি ম, হে ট ঠি ম, ইত্যাদি।

\sqrt{d} (=দ দ)+ন- প্রত্যয়ে পালি ও প্রাকৃতে দি ম্ন (সংস্কৃতে দ ত্ত)। আবার, সং উ ত্ত ম, প্রা. উ ত্তি ম (হেম. ৮.১.৪৬; শুভ.১.২.৯; ত্রিবিক্রম, ১.২. ১১, ১২; ১.৩.৩২=ষড্ভাষা. পৃ. ৫৭-৫৮); সং. ক ত ম, প্রা. ক ই ম (হেম. ৮.১.

৫৫। হইতে পারে, যেমন \sqrt{j} ন হইতে জা (যথা, জা-য়-তে, জা-ত) সেইরূপ \sqrt{p} ন হইতে খা, পরে য এই তালব্য বর্ণ থাকায় খে হইয়াছে। তাহা হইলে নকারের প্রভাবে এখানে একর হইয়াছে ইহা বলিতে পারা যায় না।

৫৬। Slav. *Pen*, Angl.-Sax. *fám*, Ger. *feim*, Eng. *foam*.

৫৭। এখানে সায়নেরবাখ্যা অশ্বরূপ জ ঞ = জে তা। কাজেই দেখা যাইতেছে 'তিনি' এই পদটিকে \sqrt{j} হইতে বলিতেছেন। তুলঃ— জি ন=জে তা। কিন্তু জি ন শব্দটি জৈন-বৌদ্ধ কালের পূর্বে ছিল কি?

৫৮। Macdonell সাহেব বলিয়াছেন ইহা নি শব্দের উত্তর ম প্রত্যয় যোগে হইয়াছে (Vedic Grammar. § 227, p 140), কিন্তু ইহা সঙ্গত মনে হয় না।

৫৯। যাক্স বলেন ইহা \sqrt{h} ন অথবা \sqrt{h} হইতে ("হিমং পুনর্হস্তের্বা হিনোতের্বা" নিরুক্ত, ৪.২৭, বেঙ্কটেশ্বর ৩৪১ পৃ.)। সং. হি ম, অব্বে. জি ম (Prof. Pictet-এর মতে \sqrt{h} হইতে, Kanga's Avesta Dictionary, p. 209), ফা. জ ম্ (ρj), গ্রী. $\chi\iota\omega\nu$ (*chiōn*), ল। *hiems* আর. *jium*, গ্রা. *zima* (Brugmann Vol I. p. 288, vol II. p. 171).

৬০। "O. Bulg *timinica* 'prison' from *timinu* 'dark', adj. to *tima* (=ত ম. —ত ম স্ 'darkness' from **tm̥m*-s, rt. *tem*."—*ibid*, vol-I. p. 36.

৬১। বখা, অ ব-ম, উ প-ম, অ স্ত-ম, চ র-ম, প র-ম, ম ধা-ম।

৪৮ ; শুভ. ১.২১২) ; সং. মধ্যম, প্রা. প্রা. মঞ্জি ম ; ৩২ আবার, সং. স্বপ, প্রা. সি বি ৭ (সি মি ৭) ; সং. কৃ প ৭, প্রা. কি বি ৭ ।

৩৯। পূর্বে যাহা উক্ত হইল তাহাতে বুঝা যাইবে যে, নকার ও মকারের একরূপ কোনো শক্তি আছে, যাহাতে অকারকে একার অথবা ইহারই দুর্বল ক্রম ইকার করিতে পারে ; অকারে অন্তর্হিত ঐ দুই স্বরকে ফুটাইয়া তুলিতে পারে। আবার ইহাও তাহাতে বুঝা যাইবে যে, নকার-মকারের এই শক্তি বহু পূর্বে হইতেই চলিয়া আসিতেছে। প্রাকৃত ও প্রাদেশিক ভাষা-সমূহ দেখিলে আরো বুঝা যাইবে যে, কেবল নকার-মকারই নহে, যে-কোনো অমুনাসিক বর্ণ থাকিলেই স্থানে-স্থানে এইরূপ কার্য্য হইয়া থাকে। ইহা ছাড়া, য র ল র, ইহাদেরও সম্পর্কে অকার-আকার একার অথবা ইকার হয় (§ ৪১)। পূর্বে (§§ ৩১, ৩৮) কতক উদাহরণ দিয়াছি, লক্ষণ সমন্বয়ের জন্ত এখানেও কিছু দিতেছি।

(ক)। সং. মুদঙ্গ, প্রা. মুইঙ্গ ; সং. অঙ্গার, প্রা. ইঙ্গাল (হেম. ৮.১.৪৭), ম. ইঙ্গল ; সং. লরঙ্গ, শু. লরিংগ ; সং. পঙ্গু, সি. পিঙ্গু (-লো) ; সং. রক্রক, প্রা. রকঅ (রংকঅ), ৩৩ সি. বিঙ্গা (বিংগা) ; সং. মহার্ঘ, প্রা.ম হ গৃষ, সি. ম হিঙ্গ (ম হিংগ)। এখানে অমুনাসিক ঙ।

(খ)। সং. পঞ্জরক, প্রা. পঞ্জরঅ, বা.ও.ম. পিঞ্জরা (পিংজরা), সি. পিঞ্জরো। এখানে অমুনাসিক ঞ।

(গ)। সং. গওক, প্রা. গওঅ, শু. গেণ্ডো (গেংডো) ; সং. অও, শু. ই ডু (ইংডু)। এখানে অমুনাসিক ণ।

(ঘ)। সং. কন্দুক, প্রা. কন্দুঅ, প. হি. ইত্যাদি গেন্দ (গেংদ) ; সং. কথানী, হি. ম. কহানী, বা. কাহিনী। এখানে অমুনাসিক ন।

৩২। এখানে সং. য=প্রা. জ ; অতএব হয় এই জকার অথবা মকারের প্রভাবে অ-স্থানে ই।

তুল :— সং. অজ=অবে. ইজ (১২৮)।

৩৩। প্রাকৃত-ব্যাকরণকারেরা যেরূপ বলিয়াছেন (হেম. ৮. ১. ২৫, শুভ. ১. ১. ৪০) তাহাতে পদমধ্যবর্তী সংযুক্ত ঙ, ঞ, ণ, ন-স্থানে প্রাকৃতে অমুখার ই লেখা উচিত। যেমন, সং. কঙ্ক, প্রা. কংচুঅ, কঙ্কঅ নহে ; সং. লঙ্কন (< লঙ্কণ), প্রা. লংছণ, লঙ্কণ নহে। তবে আবার বিকল্পবিধানও আছে (হেম ৮.১.৩০)। ম. শু. প্রভৃতিতে সাধারণত অমুখার দ্বিগু লেখা দেখা যায়।

৭(ঙ)। সং. উত্তম, প্রা. উত্তিম; সং. শাশ্রী, প্রা. শিষলী। এখানে
অনুনাসিকম।

নিম্নলিখিত শব্দগুলি যথায়োগ্য পূর্বে উদাহরণসমূহে যোগ করিতে পারা
যায় :— সং. পঞ্চম, শু. পাঁচম, পাঁচেম; সং. সপ্তম, প্রা. সত্তম, শু. সাতম,
সাতেম; ইত্যাদি। সং. পূর্ণিমা, বস্তুত মূল পূর্ণমা স অথবা পূর্ণমাস, ইহা
হইতে পূর্ণমা, তাহার পর পূর্ণিমা, প্রা. পূর্ণিমা, শু. পুনম, পুনেম; সং.
জমন ‘খাওয়া’, ম. জেমন, সি. জীমনা; সং. গণনা, প. গিণনা, হি.
গিননা।

যেখানে সংযোগের পূর্ববর্তী অকার একার (বা ইকার) হয়, সেখানে এইরূপ
একটি ব্যাপক নিয়ম বলিতে পারা যায় যে, প্রাকৃত বা প্রাদেশিক ভাষা-সমূহে
সাধারণ নিয়ম অনুসারে সংযোগের পূর্ববর্তী অকার আকার হইলে, ঐ আকারই নিজের
স্বাভাবিক গতিতে স্থানে-স্থানে একার হইয়া যায় (§ ৩৯)। যেমন, সং. কন্দু (ক),
প্রা. কন্দু (অ) > * র্খা দু (অ) > র্খো দু (অ) > র্খোঁ দ।

৪০। এই অকার-আকার যদিও নিজের স্বাভাবিক গতিতে একার (বা ইকার)
হয়, তথাপি কোথায় ইহার স্বাভাবিক গতি ফুটিয়া উঠে, এবং কোথায় উঠে না, ইহা
বিচার্য। যে স্থানে স্পষ্টত কোনো অভিব্যঞ্জক বা হেতু দেখা যায় না, সেখানে ইহাই
সমাধান যে, অকার-আকার ইকার-রঞ্জিত থাকতেই তাহা ঐরূপ হইয়া থাকে।
আবার যেখানে স্পষ্টত কোনো কারণ দেখা যায়, সেখানে তাহা অভিব্যঞ্জক বা মূল
হেতু তাহাও বিচার্য। যেমন, সং. শযা, প্রা. সেজা; এখানে মূল সংস্কৃতের
তালব্য বর্ণ যকার, অথবা প্রাকৃতের তালব্য বর্ণ জকারের প্রভাবে পূর্ববর্তী অকার
একার হইয়াছে। অতএব এখানে পরবর্তী যকার বা জকারই একারের মূল কারণ বা
হেতু, ইহা অভিব্যঞ্জক নহে। সং. উজ্জল, প্রা. উজ্জল, ম. উজেড়; সং. শাশ্রী,
প্রা. সামরী, ম. শেররী। এখানে তালব্য বর্ণ স্ব-সংসৃষ্ট অকার-আকারের একার
হইবার হেতু (দ্রষ্টব্য—রা.ভি. জোশী : মরাঠী-শব্দসিদ্ধি, ১৯১০, পৃ. ১৬। কিন্তু
গেং দু অ প্রভৃতি স্থলে অনুনাসিক অভিব্যঞ্জক, হেতু নহে। অনুনাসিক বে,
অভিব্যঞ্জক হয় তাহা আমরা পূর্বে দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি (§ ৩৯)।

৪১। যকারাদির সম্পর্কে অবর্ণ একার বা ইকার হয় বলিয়াছি (§ ৪০),
এখানে তাহার উদাহরণ দিই :—

(ক)। য-যোগে। যথা, (১), সং. গতক, প্রা. গঅঅ > গয়অ, হি. গয়া
(যেমন, রাম গয়া ‘রাম গে ল’), বা. গিয়া. (যথা, ‘গি যা- ছি’ প্রভৃতি শব্দে)।
এখানে যকারের প্রভাবে পূর্বের অকার ইকার হইয়াছে। আরার তাহা একারও

হয়। যথা, সং. গ ত (প্রা. গ অ > গ য > * গে য > * গে অ >) বা. গে ও 'গেল'
(চণ্ডীদাস, বঙ্গীয়-সাহিত্য-পরিষৎ, ১৩২১, পদ ২৪৯, পৃ. ১১৭; পদকল্পতরু,
বঙ্গীয়-সাহিত্য-পরিষৎ, ১৩২২, পদ ২৫৬, পৃ. ১৭১; নেপালে বাদ্রালা নাটক, ৩,
১৩২৪, পৃ. ৪৬)।

(২)। সং. ব্য য তে (✓ব্যো আচ্ছাদন করা), প্রা. বে অ এ (ষড়ভাষা, ১৯৩ পৃ.)
সং. ব্য ক্তি, বা. বে ক্তি; সং. ব্য ক্ত, হি. বি ক ত, হি. মৈ. বে ক ত; সং. ব্য ঙ্গ ন,
বা. বে ঙ্গ ন, ম. বি' জ ণা, বি' ঙ্গ ণা; সি. বি ক্রি গু; সং. ব্য ব হা র, বা. মৈ.
(পারিজাতহরণ, Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research society.
Vol. III, Part 1, p. 45) বে ব হা র, শু. ব হে রা র (একারটী পরবর্ণে গিয়াছে);
সং. ব্যা পা র, হি. ম. শু. বা. বে পা র ৩৩ (ক)।

(৩)। সং. ক্ষ বাঙ্লা ও অন্যান্য কতকগুলি প্রাদেশিক ভাষার স্থানে-স্থানে
একটু ইকার বা যকারে অনুরঞ্জিত হইয়া উচ্চারিত হয় বা হইত বুঝা যায়। তাই
গৌণ বা আরোপিত যকারের সম্বন্ধ থাকায় সং. ক্ষ ণ, বা. খে ন (উচ্চারণে খা ন,
অথবা খ্যা ন, § ৫৪), প. ম (বিভাষা) খি ন, হি. প. ছি ন; সং. ক্ষ তি, বা.
খে তি; সং. ক্ষ মা, বা. খে মা, প. খি মা। এই প্রসঙ্গে সং. * ক্ষ যা স্থলে
ক্ষি যা শব্দ (পাণি. ৮.১.৬০, ২.১০৪) উল্লেখ করিতে পারা যায়।

(৪)। যকারেরই প্রভাবে যেমন সং. ধ্যা ন হইতে বাঙ্লায় ধে য়া ন, প.
ধি য়া ন, সেইরূপ কোনো-কোনো প্রাদেশিক ভাষায় ঞ্কারের উচ্চারণ যকার-রঞ্জিত
হওয়ায় সং. জ্ঞা ন, প্রাচীন বা. গে য়া ন, প. গি য়া ন। ৩৪

৩৩ (ক)। প্রসঙ্গত একটা কথা লক্ষ্য করিবার আছে। প্রাদেশিক ভাষায় তত্ত্ব শব্দসমূহ সংস্কৃত
হইতে প্রাকৃত হইয়া ভিন্ন-ভিন্ন ভাষায় উপস্থিত হইয়াছে, ইহা সত্য; কিন্তু সমস্তই তত্ত্ব শব্দ
সংস্কৃত হইতে প্রাকৃত হইয়া আসে নাই। কতকগুলি শব্দ সাক্ষাৎ সংস্কৃত হইতেই প্রাদেশিক
ভাষার নিয়মে প্রাদেশিক ভাষায় আসিয়াছে, প্রাকৃত হইয়া আসে নাই। যথা, এই বে পা র শব্দ।
সং. ব্যা পা র, প্রা. বা বা র, বা আ র, অথবা বা য়া র; ইহা হইতে আমাদের বে পা র হইতে
পারে না। ইহা সাক্ষাৎ সংস্কৃত হইতেই প্রাদেশিক উচ্চারণ-বৈচিত্র্যে এইরূপ হইয়া পড়িয়াছে।
বাঙ্লায় খে তি (সং. ক্ষ তি) প্রভৃতি শব্দও এইরূপ। সং. ক্ষ তি, প্রা. খ ই; এই খ ই হইতে
খে তি স্পষ্টতই হইতে পারে না, কারণ খকারের এমন কোনো উচ্চারণ বা শক্তির বৈচিত্র্য নাই, অথবা
অন্তও কোনো কারণ দেখা যায় না, যাহাতে তাহার খকারের অকারটী একার হইতে পারে। তাহা
ছাড়া ইকার আবার তি হইতে পারে না।

৩৪। জ > গ, আবার গ > জ। সং. জ্ঞা ন, বা. ও. গ্যা' ন (যদিও লেখায় জ্ঞা ন), হি. শু. প্যা ন,
ম. দ্যা' ন (দ > জ, জ > দ)। এইরূপ সং. জ্ঞা তি হইতে জ্ঞা ত (> প্রা. না ত),

(৫)। র-যোগে। সং. প্রে থ ম, বা. প্রে থ ম, পে থ ম (কথাভাষায়); সং. প্রে থা ম, বা. পে থা ম, পে না ম; সং. প্রে আ ব, বা. পে স্ সা ব; ** ইত্যাদি আমরা প্রায়ই শুনিতে পাই। ** আবার, সং. সর স, বা. সরে স; সং. নীর স, বা. নীরে স; ** সং. গৃ হ, প্রা. ঘ র, শু. ঘের (‘ঘের’); সং. মাতৃ গৃ হ, প্রা. মাই ঘ র (হেম. চ. ১. ১৩৫) > * মা ঘ র > * মা হ র (ঘ=হ), শু. ম. মা হের (শু. অন্তরূপ, ম হিয় র, ম হিয়ে র); সং. ভূ মি গৃ হ, প্রা. ভূ মি ঘ র, ম. (পূর্বোক্ত রূপে) ভূ হের, ভূ ঘের; সং. জ্ঞা তি-গৃ হ, প্রা. না ই ঘ র, হি. না ই হ র অথবা নৈ হ র, মৈ. লাই হ র, বা. না য় র (ঢাকা), না য়ের (যশোর); সং. সা গ র, প্রা. সা অ র, সা য় র, বা. সা-য় র, সা য়ের (বর্দ্ধমান); সাধারণ বা. যা হার, উচ্চারণে জা হার, কিন্তু চর্যাচর্যাবিশিষ্টে (২৯) জা হের; এইরূপ তা হার স্থানে তা হের, কা হার স্থানে কা হের (ঐ); সং. ত ট, ঘ ট, যথাক্রমে শু. তে ড়, ঘে ড় (এখান্নের, ড় উভয়ই মূর্ছিত, এই সাদৃশ্যে স্থানবিশেষে উভয়ে উভয়ের স্থান গ্রহণ করে বলিয়া এইরূপ হইয়াছে বলিতে পারা যায়); সং. প্রা কার, প্রা. পা আ র, শু. পের; বা. স তের (১৭), শু. সী তের প্রভৃতি শব্দেরও (§ ৩১) সমাধান এইরূপে। এই-রূপেই আরবী ক রা ম ৭ (كرا م) প্রভৃতি বাঙলায় কে রা ম ৭ প্রভৃতি আকার ধারণ করিয়াছে (§ ৩১)। আবার সং. প্র ঘ র ৭ (√ ঘৃ), সি. প ঘির গু; সং

ম. ন্যা ত (কিন্তু দ্রষ্টব্য—কৃষ্ণাঙ্গী গোড়বোল-কৃত ন বী ন ম রা ঠী ব্যা ক র ৭, ১৮৯৫, § ৫১১. পৃ. ১৯১), শু. ন্যা ত, ন্যা তি (< সং. জ্ঞা তি), হি. ন্যা তা, বা. ন্যা ত, ন্যা তা ‘সম্বন্ধী’ ‘সম্বন্ধ’। দ্রঃ—Hoernle : *Gaudian Grammar* pp. 22-25, 78 ; Beams : *Comparative Grammar of the Seven Indian Vernaculars*, Vol. 1. p. 303 ; Navalkar : *Marathi Grammar*, 1894, p. 9 ; কৃষ্ণাঙ্গী গোড়বোল, ন বী ন ম রা ঠী ব্যা ক র ৭, ১৮৯৫, পৃ. ৮৯ । একারের উচ্চারণ কাশ্মীরীতেও কতকটা যকার-মিশ্রিত, বা যকার-রঞ্জিত, অ-এর মত (On the Kashmiri Vowel System—Grierson, J A S B, 1896, Pt. 1, No. 3, p. 283) । একারের উচ্চারণ যে, বৈদিক ভাষাতেও যকার-রঞ্জিত ছিল তাহার প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়।

**। যোগেশ রায়, ব্যা ক র ৭, পৃ. ৫৪ ।

**। তুলঃ—ঋকার যোগে, সং. য় ত, তৃ ষা হইতে জ্যে ত অথবা ঘে ত, তে ঠা। দ্রঃ—আমার বাঙলায় উচ্চা র ৭,—প্র বা সী, ১৩১৮, বৈশাখ; ঋকার ত ষ, ব.স.প. ২৪শ ভাগ, সংখ্যা ৩, পৃ. ১৮২ ইত্যাদি।

**। তুলঃ—সং. ক র্ণ, অব. ক রে ন (karṇa); সং. ৮ ক র্ণ (কৃ শ্ণ), অব. ৮ ক রে স্ (karṇa) . ইত্যাদি।

বিশ্ব রণ, সি. বিস রি গু, ইত্যাদি। এতাদৃশ স্থলে একারের দুর্বল রূপ ইকার হইয়াছে।

(৬)। রকারের স্থায় লকারও একার বা তাহার দুর্বল রূপ ইকারের অভিযাজক। যথা, সং ল লা ট, প্রা. নি ড়া ল, ম. নী ট ল, সি. নি রা ড়ু; সং. ব ল্লী, প্রা. বে ল্লী, বা. প্রভৃতি বে লি, বে ল; সং. গ ত ক, ক্রমশ (১৩১) প্রা. গ ল অ, বা. প্রভৃতি গে ল, গে লা; সং. মৃ ত ক, প্রা. ম ড় অ, * ম ল অ, ম. মে ল; সং. কৃ ত ক, ম. কে ল; * সং. কা ত র, প্রা. কা হ ল (ষড়্ভাষা, পৃ: ৭৭. কা হ র, কিন্তু দ্র:-হেম.

৩৭। মনে হইতে পারে ‘শিষ্ট’ অর্থে চে লা শব্দ সং. চ র ক (অর্থাৎ অনু চ র ক, অনু চ র) হইতে চল অ হইয়া তাহার পর এইরূপেই হইয়াছে। আবার র=ড বলিয়া চ র=চ ড়, তাহার পর চে ড়, চে ডী; আবার ড=ট বলিয়া চে ট, চে টী ‘চাকর’ ‘চাকরাণী’। কিন্তু অল্প প্রকারে চিন্তা করিতে পারা যায়। পঞ্জাবীতে (জ প জী, পাণিনি-কার্যালয়, ১৩২৫, পৃ ৬৩, পণ্ডী ৩০) ‘ছেলে’ অর্থে চে লা (চিল্ল) শব্দ দেখা যায়। প্রাকৃতের (দশ বৈ কালিক শূত্র বিবরণ, দেবচন্দ্রলাল ভাই জৈনপুস্তকোদ্ধার, বোম্বাই, ১৯১৮, পৃ. ৯৯ ক) পুত্র-অর্থে চে ল অ পদ পাওয়া যায়। তাই মনে হয়, চে লা, চে ট, চে টী এই চে ল অ শব্দের সহিত সম্বন্ধ। কিন্তু এই চে ল অ শব্দের মূল কি? উল্লিখিত স্থলে প্রাকৃতের যে ছায়া-সংস্কৃত দেওয়া হইয়াছে, তাহাতে লিখিত হইয়াছে ক্ষু ল ক। ক্ষু ল ক < ক্ষু ত্র ক (দ্র: আমার ক্ষু ত্র র খে লা নামক প্রবন্ধ, প্র বা সী, ১৩২৮)। ক্ষু ত্র ক > * ছু ল অ > চু ল অ হইতে চে ল অ একবারে অসম্ভব কি? স্বর-পরিবর্তনের জন্ত দ্র: হেম. চ. ৮. ৩২৯। উকার স্থানে একার হওয়ার উদাহরণ অত্যন্ত অল্প; যেমন, সং. ফু পু ফু স, হি. ফে ফ রা, বা. ফে প ড়া। যাহাই হউক, প্রাকৃতে যখন চে ল অ পাওয়া যাইতেছে, তখন সাধারণ বাঙলায় ছে লা ও কলিকাতা বা রাঢ়ের বাঙলায় ছে লে শব্দ এই চে ল অ শব্দের সহিত বিশেষরূপ সংশ্লিষ্ট বলিয়া মনে হয়। মে দে নী কো ষে (জীবানন্দ, ১৮৯৭, পৃ. ১৫২, =ল-দ্বিক, শ্লোক ১৮) ‘সন্তান’ অর্থে ছ লী শব্দ আছে (“ছ লী বীরুধি সন্তানে বকলে কুমহাস্তরে”)। বোগেশ বাবু ইহা ~~বিশ্ব~~ ছ লী হইতেই ছে লে প্রতিপাদন করিবার চেষ্টা করিয়াছেন। ছ লী মূলত সংস্কৃত নহে। ইহা বৈদিক সংস্কৃত ছ দি স (=ছ দি স্) শব্দের প্রাকৃত রূপ। মে দি নী কো ষে বহু প্রাকৃত বা দেশী শব্দ সংস্কৃত বলিয়া গৃহীত হইয়াছে। বৈদিক সংস্কৃতে ঐ শব্দটির অর্থ ‘গৃহ’ (নিঘটু, ৩৪)। ইহা আচ্ছাদনার্থক ✓ ছ দ হইতে হইয়াছে। আচ্ছাদন অর্থাৎ ছা উ নি করিয়া রাখা হয় বলিয়াই গৃহের নাম ছ দি: অথবা ছ দি:। আচ্ছাদন করিয়া থাকে বলিয়াই বৃক্ষ (বৃক্ষের বৃ) ছ লী, এবং ইহা হইতে ছা ল: আচ্ছাদন করিয়া থাকে বলিয়াই বী রু ধ্ (অর্থাৎ বিস্তারবতী লতা—যে লতা চারিদিকে নিজেকে বিস্তৃত করিয়া থাকে, “লতা প্রতানিনী বীরুধ্”-অমর) ছ লী। এই দেখিয়া মনে হয়, মেদিনীর উল্লিখিত শ্লোকে সন্তান শব্দের অর্থ ‘বিস্তার’, ‘পুত্র’, ‘শিশু’, বা ‘ছেলে’ নহে। অতএব আমার মনে হয় ছ লী হইতে আমাদের ছে লে নহে। ছা ও লা ল অথবা ছা রা ল শব্দের সঙ্গে ছে লা বা ছে লে শব্দের কোনো যোগ আছে কি? যদিও সংস্কৃত শা ব শব্দ পণ্ড-পক্ষী সম্বন্ধেই

৮.১.২১৪ ; শুভ ১.৩, ৩৪-৩৫ ; দ্বিবিক্রম ১.৩.৩৮), হি. বা. কা হি ল ;^{১১} সং. বি র ল, সি. বি রি লো ; সং. আ কু ল ক, প্রা. আ উ ল অ > * আ ল অ (আ + উ = আ § ২৭-২৮) > এ ল = এ লো ('এলো চুল') ; সং. আ য়া ত, ক্রমশ * আ য়া ল > * আ আ ল > মৈ. আ এ ল (এবং ঐ লৈ), বা. এ ল^{১০} (আ + এ = এ)।^{১১}

(৭)। রকার-যোগে। রকারেরও এইরূপ ধর্ম আছে। যথা, সং. প ক, প্রা. পি ক (দ্বিবিক্রম, ১.২.১২ = ষড্ভাষা-৫৮ পৃ.), ম. পিক্কে, পি কেঁ ; সং. স্থা প ন, প্রা. ঠা র ন, ম. ঠে র ণে^{১২} ; সং. ক পা ট, প্রা. ক রা ড়, হি. কে রা ড়, কি রা ড় ; সং. ক ম ল, হি. কঁ র ল, কে রা ন (হিন্দী শব্দার্থ পারিজাত, ইলাহাবাদ, ১৯১৪. পৃ. ১৪৭) ; সং. ন কু ল, প্রা. ন উ ল, হি. নে র ল, বা. প. ও. নে উ ল ; সং. জ ম ন, 'ভোজন', ম. ও. জে র ন, প. জেঁ উ না ; সং. পা রা র ত (< * পা রা প ত < * প রা প ত) প্রা. পা রে র অ (হেম. ৮.১.৮০), শু. পা রে রো (§ ৩৭)।

৪২। ইহা ছাড়া, অকারের একার হওয়া সম্বন্ধে যে সকল নিয়ম পূর্বে উক্ত হইয়াছে (§ ৩৯), আকারেরও একার হওয়ায় বহু স্থানে ঐ সমস্ত নিয়মে কার্য্য হইয়া থাকে। যথা, সং. ক র্ক ট ক, প্রা. ক র্ক ড় অ > * কং ক ড় অ, ^{১৩} বা.

প্রযুক্ত দেখা যায়, তথাপি কোনো প্রাদেশিক ভাষায় 'মুহুর-শিক্ত' বুঝাইতেও প্রযুক্ত হয়। মালদহের পশ্চিমাংশে মৈথিলী বা খোড়াই ভাষার সংস্কৃত অংশে 'ছোট ছেলে' অর্থে ছু যা (< মূল শা ব ক) শব্দ প্রযুক্ত হয়। তাই, যোগেশ বাবু যেমন বলিয়াছেন, শা র রা ল (যদিও শেষ অংশ মূলত বা ল) হইতে ছা ও যা ল হইতে পারে। কিন্তু শেষ অংশ বস্তুত বা ল কি না প্রমাণ আবশ্যক।

৬৯। আরবীতে 'অলস' 'নিশ্বেজ' বা 'পীড়িত' অর্থ কা হি ল (كاهل) শব্দ আছে, হইতে পারে ইহাই বাঙলা প্রভৃতিতে ঢুকিয়াছে।

^{১০} কেঁ। অথবা সং. আ গ ত ক, প্রা. আ অ দ অ > আ অ ল > এ ল। এই প্রসঙ্গে তুলনীয়—সং. শু ন. প্রা. থ ন, গ্রী. θηλη (thēlō), প্রা. উচ্চ জার্মানী tila.

৭১। মৈথিলী ও প্রাচীন বাঙলা আলোচনা করিলে বলিতে হয়, বাঙলায় বর্তমানে প্রচলিত চ ল ল ইত্যাদি পদের ইকার সং চ লি ত ক প্রভৃতি হইতে ক্রমশঃ হয় নাই, চ ল ত ক প্রভৃতি হইতেই হইয়াছে। এই জন্ত মৈথিলীতে সর্বত্র, এবং প্রাচীন বাঙলায় বহু স্থানে চ ল ল. ক র ল ইত্যাদি দেখা যায়। তাই মনে হয়, ইকারটা আসিয়াছে পরে।

৭২। ম. এর ঢা 'এই পরিমাণ' 'এত', এর হা 'এবে' প্রভৃতির একারও মূল আকার-স্থানে। ম. রা সী ব্যা ক র ণা ব রী ল নি বন্ধ, ১৯০৭, পৃ. ৯৪। তুল; শু. কে র ডু 'কত বড়', ইত্যাদি। Taylor : • Gujrati Grammar, 1908, p 32.

^{১১}। সংযোগস্থলে একটি বর্ণের লোপ হইলে সে স্থানে অনুনাসিক আগম হয় (হেম. ৮. ১. ২৬ ; Hornle § 49), যথা, সং. উ চ্চ, হি. উঁ চ, বা. উঁ চু ; সং. উ ট্ঠ, প্রা. উ ট্ঠ ঠ, হি. বা. উঁ ট ; সং.

কাঁ ক ড়া, কেঁ ক ড়া, হি. কেঁ ক ড়া, কেঁ ক রা (খেঁ গ রা শব্দও আছে), ম. খেঁ ক ড়া; সং. র ক্র ক, প্রা. রং ক অ, বা. হি. বাঁ কা (ম. বাঁ ক-ড়া), গু. বাঁ কু, বা. বেঁ কা; সং. লা জু ল, হি. লে জু ড়, বা. নে জু র (নে ডু র); ইত্যাদি।

৪৩। অকার বা আকারের ঠিক পূর্বে বা পরে তালব্য বর্ণ থাকিলে ঐ অকার-আকারের স্থানে একার বা ইকার হইয়া থাকে। যথা সং. থ জু র, প্রা. থ জু র, হি. থ জু র, ম. বা. থ জু র, থা জু র,^{১৪} বা. থে জু র; সং. র জু র, প্রা. র জু র (° ল) > লা জু র, হি. লে জু র, ° লী, বা. লে জু ড়; সং. প শ্চ, প্রা. প চ্ছ, বা. পা ছ, পি ছ (যথা, 'পাছে-পাছে', 'পিছে-পিছে', 'পিছন' 'পেছন'), ইহারই যোগে হি. পা ছা ড়ী, পি ছা ড়ী, পি ছ লী, ইত্যাদি;^{১৫} সং. উ জ্জা ল, প্রা. উ জ্জা ল, হি. উ জা ড়; ম. উ জে ড়^{১৬}; সং. প জ র ক, প্রা. প জ র অ. > পাঁ জ র অ, ম. পাঁ জ রা, পিঁ জ রা, বা. প্রভৃতি পিঁ জ রা (§ ৩৯ ৪২) 'খাঁচা'। প জ র স্থানে বা. ম. প্রভৃতিতে পিঁ জ র শব্দ প্রসিদ্ধ, এমন কি সংস্কৃতে ও ইহা কখনো কখনো লিখিত হইয়া থাকে—যদিও ভুল করিয়া।^{১৭}

মু দ্ধা, প্রা. মু গ্ধ, বা. মুঁ গ (অথবা মুঁ গ); সং. অ ক্ষি, প্রা. অ ক্ খি, বা. আঁ খি, হি. আঁ খ; সং. প ক্ষী, প্রা. প ক্ খী, বা. প জী, ইত্যাদি অনেক। ইহার মূল সূত্র সংস্কৃতেও দেয়া যায়। উঃ—বৈদিক সং. ম ক্ষু, লৌকিক সং. ম ঙ্ ক্ষু, আবার বস্তুত সং ল ক্ষ ণ হইতেই ল ক্ষ ণ, এইরূপ * ল ক্ষী > ল ক্ষী। আবার, সং. প ক্ষ, প্রা. প ক্ খ > প ঙ্ খ > পু ঙ্ খ (তীরে লাগান পাখীর পালক) সংস্কৃতে বেশ চলিয়া গিয়াছে। উঃ আমার লিখিত 'সং সূক্ত বর্ণ ও অনু স্বার' সম্বন্ধে প্রবন্ধ, প্র বা সী, ১৩৩৩, জ্যৈষ্ঠ।

^{১৪}। বা. লেখায় থ জু র, থা জু র।

^{১৫}। 'লেজ' অর্থে পু চ্ছ < সং. প শ্চ ('পশ্চাৎ ভাগ') > প্রা. প চ্ছ; প ওষ্ঠ্য বর্ণ বলিয়া তাহার প্রভাবে প্রথম অকার-স্থানে উকার। প্রা. প চ্ছ হইতেই আমরা আবার পি চ্ছ দেখিতে পাই। কিন্তু এই প চ্ছ সং. প শ্চ হইতে নহে, প ক্ষ হইতে (সং. প ক্ষ > প্রা. প চ্ছ > পি চ্ছ)। ইহার অর্থ 'পাখা' বা 'পাখানা,' যেমন ময়ূর-পি চ্ছ। লক্ষ্য করিতে হইবে এই পি চ্ছ সংস্কৃতে বেশ চলিয়া গিয়াছে। এখানে প চ্ছ শব্দে প্রথম অকারের পর তালব্য বর্ণ থাকায় তাহার স্থানে ইকার হইয়াছে।

^{১৬}। বা. উ জো র, উ জো ড়; সং. উ জ্জ ল, প্রা. উ জ্জ ল, বা. উ জ ল; এখানে পূর্বে ওষ্ঠ্য বর্ণ থাকায় তাহা পরের অক্ষরকেও ওষ্ঠ্য করিয়াছে। অথবা সং. উ জ্জা ল হইতেই বাঙলাতে উ জো র, উ জো ড়।

^{১৭}। অস্থি প জ রে র স্থায় দেখায় বলিয়া পাখীর খাঁচাকে পিঁ জ রা বলা হয়। হইতে পারে সং. প জ র ক হইতে পিঁ জ র ক, এবং তাহার পর ক্রমশ পিঁ জ রা; সাক্ষাৎ পাঁ জ রা হইতে নহে।

৪৪। যে সকল শব্দের অন্ত্য বা উপান্ত্য অক্ষর আকার, (১) তাহাদের আত্ম অক্ষর ইকার হইলে কলিকাতার বিভাষায় ঐ অন্ত্য বা উপান্ত্য আকার-স্থানে একার হইয়া থাকে; ১৮ (২) কিন্তু যদি আত্ম অক্ষর ইকারেরই স্থানে একার হয় তাহা হইল পরবর্তী আকার আর একার হয় না। ১৯ যথা

(১)

খি ধা (ক্ষু°)

খি ধে (ক্ষি°)

চি ড়া

চি ড়ে

ভি ক্ খা (°ক্ষা)

ভি ক্ গে (°ক্ষে)

মি তা

মি তে

বি দ্ দা (°ত্ভা)

বি দ্ দে (°ত্ভে)

হি ল্লা (حلة, হীলহ্)

হি ল্লে

চ লি যা, চ' লে; হ ই য়া, হ' লে; ক রি যা, ক' রে, ইত্যাদিও এইরূপে। এখানে ক্রম পরিবর্তন এইরূপ :—চ লি যা > চ লি য়ে > চ লি এ > চ লে = চ' লে। এখানে ইকার অন্তর্হিত হইলেও নিজের একটু বিশেষত্ব রাখিয়াই যায়, তাই (ক) চ লে 'চলিতেছে' অথবা 'চলিয়া থাকে', ও (খ) 'চলিয়া' অর্থে প্রযুক্ত চ লে শব্দের উচ্চারণে একটু ভেদ পাওয়া যায়। (ক) প্রথম চ লে শব্দের আত্ম অক্ষর চকারস্থ অকারের উচ্চারণ সাধারণ, কিন্তু (খ) দ্বিতীয় চ লে শব্দের চকারস্থ অকারের উচ্চারণ সাধারণ নহে, এই অকারের ধ্বনিকে হ্রস্বতম ওকারের সমান বলিতে পারা যায়, (চ লে)। (ক) প্রথম চ লে শব্দের মূল চ ল এ শব্দের চকারস্থ অকারকে হ্রস্বতম ওকার করিয়া উচ্চারণ করিবার কোনো কারণ নাই; কিন্তু দ্বিতীয় চ লে শব্দের মূল চ লি যা পদের চকারস্থ অকারকে হ্রস্বতম ওকার করিয়া

১৮। ইহার একমাত্র কারণ পূর্ববর্তী তালব্য বর্ণ ইকারের প্রভাব; তালব্য ইকার নিজের প্রভাবে পরবর্তী কণ্ঠ্য বর্ণ আকারকে খানিকটা নিজের দিকে টানিয়া আনিয়া কণ্ঠ্যতালব্য (বস্তুত তালব্য) করিয়া দেয়। শব্দের আত্ম অক্ষর বলিয়া ঝাঁক পড়ায় ইকার প্রবল হইয়া উঠে, এবং তাহাতে পরবর্তী কণ্ঠ্য আকারকে নিজের ধর্ম গ্রহণ করাইয়া রূপান্তর গ্রহণ করায়।

১৯। ইহার কারণ কি? পূর্বোক্ত স্থলে ইকার বি শু দ্ব তালব্য হওয়ার ও তাহাতে ঝাঁক পড়ায় তাহার তালব্য্য ধর্ম প্রবল হয়, কিন্তু যেখানে আত্ম অক্ষর কণ্ঠ-তালব্য (এ), সেখানে ঝাঁক পড়িলেও তালব্য অংশ পূর্বোক্ত স্থলের মত ততটা প্রবল হইতে পারে না, কণ্ঠ্য-তালব্য্য উভয়ই সমান প্রবল হয়। তাহাতেই পরবর্তী কণ্ঠ্য আকারের পরিবর্তন হয় না, তাহা অবিকৃত থাকে। কিন্তু এ ব্যাখ্যা সন্তোষজনক নহে, কারণ, প্রাচীন ব্যাকরণের মতে একার কণ্ঠ-তালব্য্য ভাবে তাহার সেই প্রকৃতি নষ্ট হইয়াছে এখন তাহা খাঁটি তালব্য।

উচ্চারণ করিবার ইহাই কারণ যে, ঐ অকারের পরবর্ত্তী অক্ষরটি ই। (পরে ই থাকিলে পূর্ববর্ত্তী অকারের হ্রস্বতম ওকারের গ্রায় উচ্চারণ হয়, যেমন, র বি, হ রি, ইত্যাদি শব্দের উচ্চারণ। তুলঃ—র ব, হ র প্রভৃতির উচ্চারণ। ঙঃ—রবীন্দ্রনাথের শ শ্ব ত ত্বে বাং লা উ চ্চা র ণ, পৃ. ৭।)। এইরূপে চ লি য়া শব্দের চকারস্থ অকার পূর্ব হইতেই হ্রস্বতম ওকাররূপে উচ্চারিত হইয়া আসিতেছিল, এবং পরে যখন ঐ শব্দটি সংশ্লিষ্ট হইয়া চ লে আকার ধারণ করিল, তখনো চকারস্থ অকারের ঐ পূর্ব উচ্চারণটি থাকিয়া গেল।^{৮০}

পূর্ব অক্ষরে ইকার না থাকিলে পরবর্ত্তী আকার একার হয় না। যথা, ক ড়া, ক লা, গ লা কখনো যথাক্রমে ক ড়ে, ক লে, গ লে হয় না।

যে সকল শব্দের উপাস্ত্য অক্ষর আকার, ইকার পূর্বে থাকিলে তাহাদেরও ঐ অকার একার হইয়া থাকে—ঠিক পূর্বেরই নিয়মে। যথা, হি সা ব, হি সে ব; নি কা শ, নি কে শ; জি জ্ঞা সা, জি জ্ঞে স; দি লা ম, দি লে ম; ইত্যাদি।^{৮১}

প্রসঙ্গক্রমে আমরা এখানে একটা কথা বলিয়া লইতে পারি। ইকারের প্রভাবে পরবর্ত্তী আ যেমন এ হয়, ঠিক সেইরূপেই উকারের প্রভাবে পরবর্ত্তী আ ও হইয়া থাকে। যথা, উ পা স (< * উ প আ স < উ প রা স), উ পো স; কু মা র (কুস্তকার), কু মো র; উ জা ড়, উ জো ড়; পূ জা, পূ জো; দু র্কা, দু র্কো; হ তা, হ তো; মূ লা, মূ লো; ইত্যাদি।^{৮২}

৮০। ইহা আলোচনা করিলে বলিতে হইবে, ব লি লে যখন ঐক্যতার নিয়মে সংশ্লিষ্ট হইয়া মধ্যম অক্ষরের লোপে দুই অক্ষরে ব ল্লে (ব' ল্লে) হয়, অথবা হ ই ল হইতে এইরূপে হ ল (হ' ল) হয়, তখন বকারস্থ ও হকারস্থ অকার বস্তুত হ্রস্বতম ওকার, কারণ ইহাদের মূল যথাক্রমে, ব লি লে ও হ ই ল শব্দে পরে ইকার থাকায় পূর্ববর্ত্তী প্রথম অক্ষর অকারের সাধারণ নিয়মেই হ্রস্বতম ওকার-রূপেই উচ্চারণ রহিয়াছে। অতএব যোগেশ বাবু (ব্যা ক র ণ, § ২০, পৃ. ৫০) এই অকারকে যে, কু ট ল অকার বলিয়াছেন তাহা সঙ্গত হয় না। মূল শব্দ যদি ব লি লে, হ ই ল ধরা হয় তাহা হইলে আমি যেরূপ বলিতেছি তাহাই সঙ্গত মনে হয়। কিন্তু যদি প্রাচীন বানান ব ল্যো, হ ল্য ধরা যায়, তবে যোগেশ বাবু যাহা বলিয়াছেন তাহাই ঠিক। ইহাই হইলে যোগেশ বাবুকে নিজের কথাটা একটু পরিবর্তন করিয়া লিখিতে হইবে; তিনি “বলিলে—বাস্তবিক ব' ল্লে, হইল—হ' ল” ইহা লিখিতে পারেন না, তাহাকে লিখিতে হইবে ‘বল্যো—বাস্তবিক ব' ল্লে, হল্য—হ' ল’

৮১। শু 'ই লা ম, ব সি লা ম ইত্যাদি স্থলেও পূর্বে ইকার থাকায় তাহারই প্রভাবে, পরে সংশ্লিষ্ট পদে (শু লা ম, ব স্ লা ম) তাহা না থাকিলেও, শু লে ম, ব স্ লে ম (ব' স্ লে ম) ইত্যাদি হইয়াছে।

৮২। যোগেশ বাবু, ব্যাকরণ; § ২৬, ৮, পৃ ৫৫,

(২)

নিম্নলিখিত উদাহরণসমূহে পূর্ববর্তী ইকারই একার হওয়ায় পরবর্তী আকার আর একার হয় নাই। যথা—

কি না	কে না
কি তা (কি তা, قطيعة)	কে তা
গি লা	গে লা
ছিঁ ড়া	ছেঁ ড়া
ফি রা	ফে রা ৮০

৪৫। কখনো-কখনো কেবল যকারেরই প্রভাব বশত আকার একার হইয়া থাকে। এই যকার (১) মুখ্য বা (২) গোণ হইতে পারে। যথা—

(১)

স ক্ষ্যা	স ক্ষ্যো (স ক্ষে) ৮৪
ব ক্ষ্যা	ব ক্ষ্যো (ব ক্ষে)
ক ত্রা	ক ত্রো (> ক ন্নে > ক নে)
ব ত্রা	ব ত্রো (ব ন্নে)

(২)

র ক্ষা	র ক্ষে (র ক্ থে)
আ জ্ঞা	আ জ্ঞে (আ গ্নে)

দ্বিতীয় প্রকার উদাহরণে আমি গোঁ ণ যকারের প্রভাব বলিয়াছি। বাঙলার ক্ষ ও জ্ঞ এই দুইটির ধ্বনি য-রঞ্জিত, ইহা আমরা পূর্বে (§ ৪১, ৩-৪) দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি।

৪৬। আবার দেখা যায়, বিবিধ ভাষা-বিভাষায় সময়ে-সময়ে আকার তিষ্ঠাগ্ভাবে উচ্চারিত হইয়া প্রথমে আ (= বাঙলায় এ ক শব্দের একারের ধ্বনি, বা ইংরাজী

৮০। কে লে মো না, এখানে কে লে < কা লা নহে, কিন্তু < কা লি আ < কা লি রা।
দ্রঃ—§ ৪৭.

৮১। স ক্ষে প্রভৃতির আদ্য অক্ষর সকারহিত অকার বস্তুত হ্রস্বতম ওকার, এবং ইহার কারণ পরবর্তী ন। নকার বাঙলায় অব্যবহিত (এবং কখনো-কখনো ব্যবহিত) পূর্ববর্তী অকারকে বহু স্থানে বিকৃত করিয়া হ্রস্বতম ওকার করে। বাঙলায় ব ন, ম ন শব্দের উচ্চারণের সহিত হ র, ধ র শব্দের উচ্চারণ তুলনা করিয়া দেখুন। দ্রঃ—রবীন্দ্রনাথ, শ ক ত ষ, পৃ-৮।

hand শব্দের ar ধ্বনি) হয়, এবং ইহা হইতেই পরে কখনো-কখনো একার হইয়া থাকে। উচ্চারণ-অনুসারে সর্বত্র লেখা হয় না বলিয়া কখনো-কখনো এই-জাতীয় শব্দে (১) আকার, বা (২) একার, অথবা কখনো-কখনো (৩) আকার ও একার উভয়ই দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়। আবার, কখনো-কখনো বা (৪) স্পষ্টত আ লিখিত হয়। শব্দসমূহ আলোচনা করিলে বোধ হয়, কখনো-কখনো বিশুদ্ধ আ ত্রিধাগ্ভাবে উচ্চারণে আ হইয়া পরে এ হইয়াছে ; আবার কখনো-কখনো একারই আ উচ্চারিত হইয়াছে। কেন একরূপ হয়, পরবর্ত্তী অনুচ্ছেদে আমরা তাহা অনুসন্ধান করিতে চেষ্টা করিব।

৪৭। ই, এ, আ, অ, এই কয়েকটি স্বরের একটি ক্রমিক সম্বন্ধ আছে। পর-পর এই কয়টি স্বর উচ্চারণ করিলে যে-কেহ বুঝিতে পারিবেন যে, আমরা ইকার-উচ্চারণে জীভকে (অর্থাৎ জীভের মধ্যদেশ বা পৃষ্ঠদেশকে, back of tongueকে) তালুর (অর্থাৎ কোমল তালুর, soft palateএর) দিকে যতটা উঠু করি, একারের উচ্চারণে ততটা করি না ; একারের উচ্চারণে তালু ও জীভের মধ্যে ফাঁক থাকে বেশী। আবার আ উচ্চারণে উভয়ের মধ্যে তাহা অপেক্ষাও বেশী ফাঁক। সর্বশেষে আ উচ্চারণে তালুর দিকে জীভ মোটেই উঠে না (তালুর সঙ্গে তাহার কোনো সম্বন্ধ নাই)। এই কয়টি বর্ণের উচ্চারণ সম্বন্ধে জীভ ও তালুর মধ্যে ফাঁকটার পরিমাণ করিতে হইলে, যদি ইকারের উচ্চারণের ফাঁকটার পরিমাণ ধরা যায় ১, তাহা হইলে তাহাদের ক্রমিক সংখ্যা হইবে এই প্রকার :—ই ১, এ ২, আ ৩, অ ৪। কেহ যদি ইকার হইতে যাত্রা আরম্ভ করিয়া আকারে পৌছিতে চায়, তবে তাহাকে বাইতে হইবে এইরূপে :—ই—>এ—>আ—>অ। ইকার কিরূপে একার হইয়া পড়ে তাহা পূর্বে (§ ২৪) আলোচনা করিয়াছি। একারকে যাহারা একটু বেশী খোলা বা বিস্তৃত ভাবে উচ্চারণ করেন, তাহাদের নিকটে তাহা আ হইয়া যায় ; আবার, যাহারা ইহা অপেক্ষাও বেশী খোলাভাবে উচ্চারণ করেন, ঐ একারই তাহাদের নিকটে একেবারে আকার হইয়া পড়ে। সং. এ ক, প্রা. এ ক, হি. প. ই ক, ই ক (ম. প্রভৃতি এ ক), বা. আ ক, বাঁকুড়া-বীরভূমের সাধারণ বিভাষার আ ক। ৫৫

৪৮। প্রতিলোম দিক্ হইতে দেখিলে দেখা যায়, উচ্চারণকারীর যখন আকারকে সম্পূর্ণ ভাবে উচ্চারণ করিতে ইচ্ছা হয় না, অথবা তিনি সেরূপ ভাবে উচ্চারণ করেন না (হয় স্বভাববশত, অথবা মুখের অল্প প্রয়াসে প্রযত্নের একটু লাঘবহেতু), তখন

৫৫। বীরভূমের সাধারণ লোকের উচ্চারণে ইহা স্বকর্ণে শুনিয়াছি, এবং বাঁকুড়া-বাসী কোনো বন্ধুর নিকট সেখানকার উচ্চারণের কথা অবগত হইয়াছি।

সেই আ তির্ধ্যাক্ হইয়া আ হইয়া যায়। এই আ ধ্বনির মধ্যে ইকারের খোলা ধ্বনি বা তাহারই প্রবল অবস্থা (strong grade) একার পাওয়া যায় বলিয়া এই ধ্বনি বিবিধ ভাষা-বিভাষা-উপভাষার স্থানে-স্থানে অ-যথাযথভাবে এ বর্ণ দিয়া প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে। আলোচ্য ধ্বনিটি (আ) অমুপযুক্ত এ-বর্ণ দ্বারা প্রকাশিত হওয়ায়, যাহারা লিখিত বর্ণমাত্র দেখিয়া ইহার ধ্বনিটি শিক্ষা করেন, তাঁহারা তাহা বি শু দ্ধ একার বলিয়াই মনে করেন; কিন্তু যাহারা প্রসিদ্ধ বা প্রচলিত ধ্বনিরও সহিত পরিচিত, তাঁহারা এ-বর্ণ দেখিলেও তাহা দ্বারা বিশুদ্ধ এ-ধ্বনি না বুঝিয়া আ ধ্বনিই বুঝিয়া থাকেন।

৪৯। আ কোনো-কোনো স্থানে উচ্চারণে আ, যদিও লিখিত হয় আ অথবা এ।

যথা—

পাঁ কা	পেঁ কা	পাঁ কা,
কাঁ ধা	কেঁ ধা	কাঁ ধা,
কাঁ ঠা ল	কেঁ টা ল	কাঁ টা ল,
ছা না	ছে না	ছা না,
ডা না	ডে না	ডা না,
ডাঙা (ঙ্গা)	ডেঙা (ঙ্গা)	ডাঙা (ঙ্গা),
খাঁ দা	খেঁ দা	খাঁ দা,
ঝাঁ ক ড়া	ঝেঁ ক ড়া	ঝাঁ ক ড়া,
ছাঁ ক ড়া	ছেঁ ক ড়া	ছাঁ ক ড়া,

৫০। আবার নিম্নলিখিত শব্দ গুলিতে এ=আ, যদিও লেখায় এ :—

এ ক	আ ক
ঢে লা	ঢা লা
ডে লা	ডা লা
থে লা	থা লা
বে লা	বা লা
দে বা	দা বা

এই বিবিধ পরিবর্তনের মধ্যে কোনো নিয়ম বাহির করিতে পারা যায় কি না আমরা পরে তাহার চেষ্টা করিয়া দেখিব।

৫১। অকার-একারের এইরূপ উচ্চারণ যে, অতি পূর্বকাল হইতে বিবিধ ভাষা-বিভাষা-উপভাষার মধ্যে রহিয়াছে, আমরা তাহা পরে দেখিতে পাইব। আপাতত এই আ-ধ্বনির মাত্রা সম্বন্ধে দুই-একটি কথা বলিতে হইবে। লক্ষ্য করিলে মনে হয়, আ কোথাও বিস্তৃত, কোথাও বিস্তৃততর, কোথাও বা বিস্তৃততম হইয়া থাকে। একই প্রদেশের ভিন্ন-ভিন্ন স্থানে এক-একটি অক্ষর বা স্বর বহু বিচিত্র ভাবে উচ্চারিত হইয়া থাকে।^{১০} তাই উচ্চারণের ক্ষুদ্র-ক্ষুদ্র ভেদগুলি নির্দেশ বা প্রমাণ করা সময়ে-সময়ে বড় শক্ত হইয়া উঠে। তথাপি আলোচ্য আ-ধ্বনির ভেদ কিঞ্চিৎ দেখাইতে চেষ্টা করিব। বা. ম. ঙ্গ. 'ধিকার' অর্থে অব্যয় ছি (হি. ছী) শব্দ (প্রা. ছি < সং. ধি ক্, হেম. চ. ২. ১৭৪, শুভ. ১. ৩. ১১৭ ; মাগদহের মগহী বা খোড়াই ছি ক = ছি কো) পশ্চিম বঙ্গে উচ্চারিত হয় (১) ছেঃ (= ছাঃ) ; কিন্তু সংস্কৃত বা তৎসম এ ক দেখানে উচ্চারিত হয় (২) আ ক। এস্থলে (১) প্রথম হইতে (২) দ্বিতীয় ধ্বনিটি বেশী বিস্তৃত। (ক) প্রথম ধ্বনিটি ইংরাজীর hat, cat শব্দের a-ধ্বনির মত, আর (খ) দ্বিতীয় ধ্বনিটি ইংরাজির bank, sand শব্দের a-ধ্বনির মত। সিংহলীতে ঠিক এইরূপ দুইটি ধ্বনি আছে (যেমন, গ্যা ল, gēla, 'গাড়ী' ; গ্যা গি, gēgi, 'জীলোক')। সুনীতি বাবু আমাকে জানাইয়াছেন, "দে খ ত হে—এখানে দে পূরাপূরি ঠা (ক) ; কিন্তু হে, হে এবং হ্যা'র মাঝামাঝি (খ)। পূর্ববঙ্গে আত এ সাধারণত এইরূপেই উচ্চারিত হয়। আমরা বলি কে শ, পূর্ববঙ্গের উচ্চারণ আমাদের কানে শুনায় ক্যা শ, কিন্তু ইহা ক্যা শ নয়, ঝাঁকা এ, কতকটা কেয়া শ-গোছ। তজ্রপ আমাদের কে ন = ক্যা নো (ক) ; পূর্ববঙ্গে অতটা বিস্তৃত ক্যা-রূপে উচ্চারিত না হইয়া যেরূপ উচ্চারিত হয় তাহা আমাদের কানে ক্যান এর মত (খ) লাগে।" সুনীতি বাবু ইহা দ্বারা আ ধ্বনির দুইটি ভেদ দেখাইতেছেন ; একটা (ক) বেশী বিস্তৃত, প্রসারিত, বা খোলা (open), আর একটা (খ) ততটা ওরূপ নহে, তাহা অপেক্ষা অল্প বিস্তৃত। (খ) বিস্তৃত, আর (ক) বিস্তৃততর। বিস্তৃত আ-ধ্বনি মরাঠীতেও পাওয়া যায়, যেমন ঘো ড্যা স 'ঘোড়াকে' এখানে ওকার-স্থিত আ-ধ্বনি পূর্বোক্ত [(১), (২), (ক), (খ)] ধ্বনিগুলি অপেক্ষা অনেক কম বিস্তৃত। তাই ইহাকেই বিস্তৃত ধরিয়া অপর ধ্বনি দুইটাকে আমরা বিস্তৃততর ও বিস্তৃততম বলিয়া উল্লেখ করিতেছি। পরে আমরা এই আলোচ্য ধ্বনিটির অবাস্তর ভেদ বুঝাইবার জন্ত কোনো বর্ণ বিশেষ প্রয়োগ না করিয়া সাধারণ ভাবে

১০। ইংরাজী girl শব্দটির কত বিচিত্র উচ্চারণ হয় Jones সাহেব নিজের *Pronunciation of English*. নামক পুস্তকে (1911, p. 45) তাহার কয়টি উল্লেখ করিয়াছেন।

উল্লেখ করিয়া যাইব, এবং যেখানে পারা যায়, অর্থাৎ উপযুক্ত প্রমাণ দ্বারা স্থির হইতে পারে, ভেদটার সূচনাও করিতে চেষ্টা করিব।

৫২। সংস্কৃতে যা চ্ ঞ্চ শব্দ প্রসিদ্ধ, কিন্তু শতপথ ব্রাহ্মণে ৮^১ একই অর্থে যা চ্ ঞ্চা (= যা চ্ ঞ্চ) শব্দ পাওয়া যায়। অথর্ববেদেও (১২. ৪. ৩০) ‘যাচঞা’ অর্থেই যা চ্ ঞ্চ অথবা যা চ্ ঞ্চা পদ আছে। দ্রষ্টব্য—একই ‘জাগরণ’ অর্থে সংস্কৃতে জা গ রা ও জাগ র্ যা উভয়ই চলে (কাশিকা, পাণিনি, ৩. ৩. ১০১)। বাজসনেয়ি-সংহিতায় শ্ল প ত্র ‘ওষ্ঠপ্রাপ্ত,’ কিন্তু তৈত্তিরীয় সংহিতায় (১. ২. ১৩. ৩) ঠিক ঐ মন্ত্রেই শ্ল প ত্র। দ্রষ্টব্য—§ ৪১ (৩)।

৫৩। অশোকের শিলালেখের কলসী-পাঠে (Rock Edicts, Kalsi) বহুস্থানে স্বরের তির্যক্ উচ্চারণ পাওয়া যায়, এবং তদনুসারে আ=আ হইয়াছে। যথা, পা ল তি ক্যা য়, সং. পা র ত্রি ক্যা য় (১০) ; চি ল ঠি তি ক্যা, সং. চি র স্থি তি কা (৬) ; না তি ক্যা নং, সং. জা তি কা না ম্ (২) ; ইত্যাদি অনেক। স্পষ্টই এখানে পূর্ববর্তী তালব্য বর্ণের প্রভাবে এইরূপ হইয়াছে।

৫৪। সিংহলীতে এই উচ্চারণ খুবই প্রচলিত। বলিয়া আসিয়াছি (§ ৪১, ৩) সং. ক্ষণ, প্রা. খণ, বা. খেন, ইহা বিভাষাবিশেষে খা ন, সিং. স্খাণ ; সং. পঙ্কক, প্রা. পংকঅ, বা. পঁকা, পুঁকা, সিং. পুঁকুম্ ; বা. গ্রান (সং. জ্ঞান, § ৪১, ৪), সিং. নান ; সং. জাল, সিং. দাল্ (জ=দ) ; সং. দাসী, সিং. দাসী ; সংগর্ভ, প্রা. গত্ত, বা. গাভ, গাব, সিং. গ্রাপ ; সং. দহুর, প্রা. দদুর, বা. দাহর, সিং. দাহর ; সং. বা. ইত্যাদি না (‘নিষেধার্থক’), সিং. না ; সং. মৃতি, প্রা. ম টি, বা. প্রভৃতি মা টি, সিং. মা টি ; সং. মাণিক, সিং. মাণিক, ইত্যাদি অনেক। বা. মা, সিং. মা (mé),—ইহার স্বরধ্বনি দীর্ঘতর, bank- শব্দের a-র মত। আবার সংস্কৃত মেণ্ডক, প্রা. মেণ্ডঅ, বা. মেঢ়া, মাঢ়া, সিং. মাড।^{৮৮} এখানে একটি কথা বলা আবশ্যক যে, সিংহলীতে অকারেরও এইরূপ তির্যক্ উচ্চারণ আছে। যথা, সং. মণি, সিং. ম্ণ ; সং. মত, সিং. ম্ত।

৫৫। মরাঠীতেও এইরূপ আছে। যেমন, ঘোড়া হইতে ঘোড়াস ‘ঘোড়াকে’, ঘোড়ানে ‘ঘোড়া দ্বারা,’ চাংগলা অথবা চাংগল্যা মাণসানে ‘ভাল মানুষের

৮৭। Monier Monier-Williams : *Sanskrit-English-Dictionary*.

৮৮। সিংহলীতে অকারেই য-কলা দিয়া এই ধ্বনি প্রকাশ করা হয়। সিংহলীর অক্ষর হিন্দীপ্রভৃতির স্তায় খোলা।

দ্বারা', কা লা অথবা কা ল্যা মা গ সা নে 'কাল মাল্লু দিয়া'। এতাদৃশ স্থানে আ অথবা আ হওয়া সাধারণ নিয়ম। প্রাচীন মরাঠীতে তে গের 'তাহা দ্বারা,' জেরে 'যাহা দ্বারা,' যেরে 'ইহা দ্বারা' ইত্যাদি স্থলে যেখানে একার দেওয়া হইত, বর্তমান মরাঠীতে সেখানে ঐ একারকে আ (আ) করা হইয়া থাকে। যথা, ত্যা গের, জ্যা গের, য্যা.গের।^{৮৯} বি চার শব্দ বহু মরাঠী পুস্তকে বি চ্যা র লিখিত হয়।^{৯০} কিন্তু তাহার চ্যা-অংশ চ্যা-রূপে উচ্চারিত হয় না। রা মা চ্যা অথবা রা মা চে ব রী' গেলো' হো তো' ('রামের ঘরে গিয়াছিলাম'), দুইই হইয়া থাকে। রা ম শব্দের সম্বোধন হয় রা মা, কিন্তু যদি অবজ্ঞাভাবে সম্বোধন করা হয় তবে হয় রা ম্যা। এইরূপ পো র ট্যা ! 'ছোড়াটা' ! বে ট্যা ! 'বেটা !' "কা র ট্যা পো র ট্যা"—ছোট ছেলেকে এই বলিয়া তিরস্কার করা হয়। 'কা র টা হইতে সম্বোধনে কা র ট্যা 'অন্ত্যেষ্টিক্রিয়ার পুরোহিত'। এইরূপ 'অজ্ঞ' বা 'হাতিয়ার' অর্থে হা ত্যা র, হা তে র (অথবা হ ত্যা র, হ তে র), দুইই চলে। 'তাত' অর্থে (তা তা, তুলঃ দা দা) তা ত্যা খুবই প্রসিদ্ধ। সংখ্যাবাচক শব্দসমূহে এরূপ অনেক। যথা, স ত্যা হ ত্ত র (৭৭), অ ট্ ট্যা হ ত্ত র (৭৮), এ ক্যা র শী (৮১), এ ক্যা র ব (৯১), ইত্যাদি। এখানে স্পষ্টত আ=আ। স্পষ্টত এ=আ, যথা, সং. কে দা রী 'ক্ষেত্র,' ম. ক্যা রী (প্রা. কে আ রী, বা. কে যা রী)। অত্যাশ্চর্য উদাহরণ পূর্বে দিয়াছি।

৫৬। গুজরাতে সংখ্যাবাচক শব্দের মধ্যে বহু স্থানে আ=আ। যথা, অ গ্যা র (১১), এ ক্যা শী (৮১), ছ্যা শী, তুলঃ বা. ছি যা শী, (৮৬), ইত্যাদি। কিন্তু চো রা শী (৮৪), চো রা শী নহে। আবার এ সী (৮০), এখানে সং. অ শী তি, প্রা. অ সী ই > আ সী < আ সী > এ সী। গুজরাতীর জে ম 'যেমন,' কে ম 'কেমন' বস্তুত যথাক্রমে উচ্চারিত হয় জা ম, ক্রা ম। অনেক স্থানে লিখিত হইয়া থাকে জ্য ম, ক্য ম। গু. বের (সং. বৈ র), বে ন অথবা ব্ হে ন (সং.

৮৯। চিপলুংকরঃ মরাঠী ব্যাকরণা বরী ল নিবন্ধ, পৃ. ৭২-৭৩; জোশীঃ প্রোচ-বোধ মরাঠী ব্যাকরণ, ১৯১৭, পৃ. ৬৩।

৯০। রাজবাড়েঃ শ্রীজ্ঞানেশ্বরী' তীল মরাঠী ভাষে চৈ ব্যাকরণ, পৃ. ৩। বস্তুত ভালব্য স্বরের সম্পর্ক থাকিলেই মরাঠীতে বহু স্থলে তাহা আ উচ্চারিত হয়। যেমন মা কা হা ত 'আমার হাত', কিন্তু মা কা হা তা নী 'আমার হাতের দ্বারা'; রা জা লা 'রাজার,' উচ্চারিত হয় রা জ্যা লা—যদিও ইহা এইরূপে লিখিত হয় না। মরাঠীতে চ-বর্ণ দন্ত্য-তালব্য। ড্রঃ Navalkar: Marathi Grammar, 1894, p. 57.

ভ গি নী, প্রা. ব হি লী), পে ঠ (সং. প্র বি ষ্ট, প্রা. প ই ট ঠ) ইত্যাদি শব্দের একারের উচ্চারণ ত্রিধ্যক্ আকারের হায়, অর্থাৎ mad প্রভৃতির a-ধ্বনির ২১ ত্বায় ।

৫৭। রাজস্থানীতেও বহু স্থানে আকার ও একার আ উচ্চারিত হয় ২২ যেমন, হি. প ধা রা ‘গেলেন’, নরসিংগড়-মালবীতে প দা রা ; যোধপুর-মারবাড়ী চুণারীতে জ গা কে ‘জনের’ উচ্চারিত হয় জ গা ক্যা । মেঝাড়ীর নিম্নলিখিত সংখ্যাবাচক শব্দগুলিতে আকারের ত্রিধ্যক্ উচ্চারণ স্পষ্টই দেখা যায় । যথা চ্যা র (৪), গ্যা রা (১১), অ ক্যা ব ন (৫১), অ ক্যা শী (৮১), প চ্যা শী (৮৫), শ ত্যা শী (৮৭), ইত্যাদি । ২৩ মারবাড়ীতে সং. জ্ঞা ন উচ্চারিত হয় গ্যা ন ।

৫৮। হিন্দীতেও অনেক স্থানে এরূপ আছে । পূর্বো হিন্দীর মধ্যে বাঘেলী ও আরবীতে ইহার বিশেষ প্রচার-দেখা যায় । কতক উদাহরণ দিতেছি । এ=আ, যথা, দেশ, জা স (“জা স মা,” ‘দেশে’ *Ling. S. Ind. Vol. VI. Eastern Hindi*, p. 156) ; এইরূপ পর জা স ‘পরদেশ,’ (ঐ), অত্রা (Banda Dt.) আবার দে স ; পে ট স্থানে প্যা ট (ঐ, pp. 143, 156), আবার পেট (p. 160) ; সং. ক্ষেত্র, প্রা. খে ত্র, ইহা হইতে খে ত (p. 143), আবার খ্যা ত (p. 133) ; ঐ

২১। শ্রীযুক্ত নরসিংহরার ভোলানাথ : গুজরাতী ভাষা নী হাল নী জোড় গী নী বিশে বিচার, ১৮১৮, পৃ. ১৯ । এ’সম্বন্ধে ইহার অল্প প্রবন্ধ দ্রষ্টব্য :—*The Wide Sound of E and O with special reference to Gujrati - Indian Antiquary* 1917, pp. 297 ff ; 1918, pp. 24 ff and 37 ff ; Dr. Tisseutori’s Reply, 1918, pp. 225 ; এ বিষয়ে আমারও আলোচনা দেখিতে পারা যায়, *Ibid*, 1920, pp. 109ff.

প্রাকৃত বা দেশীতে যে সকল শব্দের মূল সংস্কৃতে অ ই অথবা অ য়, তাহাদেরই স্থানে জাত একারের এইরূপ উচ্চারণ হয়, অল্পত্র হয় না । সং. বৈ র, প্রা. ব ই র ; এখানে গুজরাতীর অব্যবহিত মূল প্রাকৃতে অ ই আছে, তাই তাহার স্থানে জাত গুজরাতীর একারের এরূপ উচ্চারণ হয় । সং. বেলী, প্রা. বে লী, গু. বে লী ; এখানে বে লী শব্দের একারের ত্রিধ্যক্ উচ্চারণ হয় না । ওকার-সম্বন্ধেও এই নিয়ম । যেখানে গুজরাতীর ওকারের মূল সংস্কৃত-প্রভৃতিতে অ ব অথবা অ উ, সেখানেই তাহাদের স্থানে জাত গুজরাতীর ওকারের খোলা ত্রিধ্যক্ উচ্চারণ হয় । সং. মু কুল, প্রা. মু উ ল, গু. মো র, এখানে ওকারের উচ্চারণ ত্রিধ্যক্ (mo, mŕ) । ইহা ভাষার লিখিয়া প্রকাশ করা শক্ত । দ্রষ্টব্য টীকা ৯০ ।

২২। পশ্চিমী রাজস্থানী (Western Rājasthānī) সম্বন্ধে লিখিত হইয়াছে—“In certain cases...ē and ai like a in ‘hat’”—*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 4 ff. আবার, “The ai is sounded almost like a in ‘hat’, and au almost like o in ‘hot’.” *Ibid*. pp. 20.

২৩। Kellioḡ : *Hindi Grammar*, 1893, pp. 184,

শব্দ হইতেই খ্যা ত ন (p. 134), আবার খে ত ন. (p. 160)। সাধারণ হিন্দীতে ডে রা ‘কোনো স্থানে থাকিবার ভ্রব্য-সামগ্রী,’ কিন্তু বাঘেলীতে ড্যা রা। বাঘেলীর ভ্রায় আধীতেও এক শব্দস্থানে-স্থানে বাঙলারই ভ্রায় উচ্চারিত হয় আ ক (=মা ক, তুলঃ—ফা. ۴۲)। সাধারণ হি. পে ড ‘গাছ,’ আধী প্যা ড ন-তে ‘গাছগুলি হইতে’ (p. 89); সং. বৃ স্ত, প্রা. ব ণ্ট, বে ণ্ট, বা. বা ট, বে ট, হি. বে ট, আধী বা ট (p. 49)। লক্ষ্যে অঞ্চলে আবার আমাদের পূর্ববঙ্গের ভ্রায় জা বা (সং. সে বা), খ্যা ত (বা. খে ত, সং. ফে জ); আবার, হি. দে খো হয় জা খো। সম্বন্ধ-বাচী -কে র ও -ক্যা র উভয়ই শব্দ দেখা যায় (*Ling. S. India*, Vol. VI. pp. 58, 64, 86, 132)।

আকার মগহীতে সময়ে-সময়ে আ উচ্চারিত হইয়া থাকে।^{২৪} যেমন, মা র ল ক ই (মারলকর) উচ্চারিত হয় মা র ল কৈ ‘মারিল’। আমাদের এ গা র (১১) হিন্দীতে সাধারণতই উচ্চারিত হয় ই গ্যা র হ, অথবা গ্যা র হ; সং. জা ন, হি. গ্যা ন। হিন্দীর প্রস্রবাচক বা সর্বনাম ক্যা ‘কি’ ‘কী’ শব্দও এখানে উল্লেখ করিতে পারা যায়।^{২৫}

২২। খসকুরা বা নেপালীতে দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়, একারের পূর্বে যকার যোগ করা হয়। আবার স্থানে-স্থানে, বিশেষত পদের অন্তস্থিত একারকে যা করিয়া লেখা হয়। যেমন, গ রে ‘তাহারা করিয়াছিল’ লিখিত হয় গ রো, অথবা গ র্যা; স ড্ হে ‘বাঁড়গুলি’, স ড্ হা। Grierson সাহেব বলেন, পূর্বে যা দিয়াই উচ্চারণ ছিল, পরে এ দিয়া উচ্চারণ হইয়াছে (*Ling. S. Ind.*, Vol. IX, Part IV, pp. 22)।

৬০। মধ্য পাহাড়ী বা কুমায়নীতেও একার-স্থানে আ (য়া) দেখা যায়, কিন্তু এখানে এই আকারটি ব্রহ্ম, দীর্ঘ নহে, যদিও লিখিত পুস্তকে ইহার কোনো ভেদ করা

^{২৪}। “The vowel আ is sometimes pronounced like the a in ‘mad.’”—*Ling. S. Ind.* Vol. V., Part II, p. 35.

^{২৫}। উচ্চ হিন্দী (High Hindi) এবং গঢ়ালী, কুমায়নী, ও নেপালীতে ক্যা (নেপালীতে কি পদও প্রযুক্ত হয়), কিন্তু কর্ণোজী, ব্রজভাষা ও প্রাচ্য বৈষ্ণবী ক হা; আবার ব্রজ. প্রা.-বৈষ্ণবী, আরধী, ভোজপুরী, মগহী, ও মৈথিলীতে ক। অতএব বলিতে পারা যায়, ক হা হইতে ক্যা, কা এই দুই পদই হইয়াছে। Beams সাহেব (II, 325) বলেন ক হা > ক আ > ক য়া > ক্যা। এই অনুসারে বলিতে হয়, বাহাদের নিকট য-শ্রুতি (এ সম্বন্ধে আমার লিখিত ‘য-শ্রুতি’-নামক প্রবন্ধ দ্রষ্টব্য, ‘শান্তিনিকেতন’, ১৩২৭, বৈশাখ, পৃ ২০ ইত্যাদি) হয় নাই, তাহাদের নিকটে ক হইয়াছে।

হয় নাই।^{১০} যেমন হি. তে রা ‘তোর’, কিন্তু কুমা. ত্যা রা ; হি. মে রা ‘মোর’, কুমা. ম্যা রা। এই আকারটা কুমায়নীর সমস্ত উপভাষার হ্রস্ব কি না তাহা বলিবার উপকরণ আমার নিকট নাই। তাই নিশ্চয় করিয়া বলিতে পারি না, নৈনিতাল প্রভৃতি অঞ্চলে চ্যা লা (হি. চে লা) ‘ছেলে’ প্রভৃতি শব্দের আত্ম আকারটি বাঙলার মত উচ্চারিত হয় কি না। আবার এই বিভাষাতে চে লা পদও লিখিত দেখা যায়। খ স প র জি য়া কুমায়নীর একটা উপভাষা, আলমোড়ার বরমগুল ও দানপুর পরগণায় ইহা প্রচলিত। ইহাতে হ্রস্ব এ=য; যেমন, হি. চে লা, কুমা. চে লো, কিন্তু খসপ. চ্য ল; ঞ খ (দে থো), জ্য ঠ (জে ঠো, সং. জ্যে ঠ), ড্য র (ডে রো, হি. ডে রা)।^{১১} কুমায়নীরই অন্ততম উপভাষায় (প ছা ই, আলমোড়া জেলায়) আকার-স্থানেও আ দেখা যায়; যেমন, প র মে খ র ক ই চ্চা ক ‘পরমেশ্বরের ইচ্ছার’ এই আ ধ্বনির উচ্চারণ বাঙলার মত ততটা খোলা নহে, ইহা had শব্দের a-ধ্বনি অপেক্ষা হ্রস্ব। এইরূপই বা. বি ছা না, হি. বি ছা উ না, কিন্তু নেপা. বি ছ্যা উ না; হি. স্ত ত্য ‘শ্যিত’, নেপা. স্ত ত্যা।^{১২}

৬১। প্রতীচ্য পাহাড়ীয় বধাটী বিভাষায় (শিমলা শৈলের বিভাষাসমূহের অন্ততম) বহ স্থলে আ=আ (য়া)।^{১৩} যেমন, হি. ল গা ‘লাগিল’, বধা. লা গ্যা; হি. বো লা, বধা. বো ল্যা; হি. ভে জা ‘প্রেরণ করিল’, বধা. ভে জ্যা; হি. মা না, ‘মানিল’, বধা. মা ত্তা; হি. বে টা, (বা. বা টা), বধা. বে ট্যা, (কখনো-কখনো বে টা); হি. পু ছা. ‘জিজ্ঞাসা করিল’, বধা. পু ছ্যা; ইত্যাদি। প্রতীচ্য পাহাড়ীয় হুগুরী, মণ্ডোয়ালী-প্রভৃতি বিভাষাতেও (নলগড় ছেটে) এইরূপ দেখা যায়। যথা, হ. মণ্ডো. বো ল্যা ‘বলিল’, হি. চু কা ‘চুকিল’, হ. চু ক্যা, ইত্যাদি।^{১৪}

৬২। কান্দীরীতেও এইরূপ। সং. মে ষ, কা. ম্যা।^{১৫} যেখানে একাক্ষর (monosyllabic) শব্দের শেষে কোনো মহাপ্রাণ বর্ণ থাকে, তাহার পূর্বস্থিত অকার

^{১০}। Ibid. pp. 114.

^{১১}। Ibid. pp. 180.

^{১২}। Kellog : Hindi Grammar, pp. 306.

^{১৩}। Ling. S Ind. Vol. IX, Part IV, pp. 506.

^{১৪}। Ibid. pp. 588.

^{১৫}। কান্দীরী শব্দা মৃত, ৪.১। সং. দে ব র, কা. ত্তা র (ত্তা রথ্ র=দেবর-পুত্র, ঐ, ৪.১৩)। কিন্তু এ উদাহরণ এখানে না ধরিতেও পারা যায়। হিন্দীতে যেমন স্তা র, বা বাঙলার স্তা ল (সং. স্ত গা ল, শৃ গা ল), কান্দীরীর স্তা র শব্দও সেইরূপ বলা যাইতে পারে। সং.

কান্দীরীতে কতকটা আ-র মত উচ্চারিত হয়। ১০২ যেমন, ক্র থ্ ‘শব্দ’, ‘গোলমাল’, ইহার উচ্চারণ (কতকটা) ক্রা থ্ ।

৬৩। তির্ধ্যাক্ উচ্চারণের প্রসঙ্গে এখানে আর একটা কথা উল্লেখযোগ্য মনে করিতেছি। একার বা আকারের যেমন তির্ধ্যাক্ উচ্চারণ দেখা গেল, তেমনি কোনো-কোনো ভাষা-বিভাষায় আরো কোনো-কোনো স্বরের তির্ধ্যাক্ উচ্চারণ দেখা যায়। অশোকের কলসীস্থিত শিলালেখের কথা পূর্বে (§ ৫৩) উল্লেখ করিয়াছি, সেখানে আকারের তির্ধ্যাক্ উচ্চারণ দেখা গিয়াছে। অকারের তাদৃশ উচ্চারণ যথা, অ লি ক্য যু ন্দ লে (১৩শ শেখ, পং. ৮), ‘অ লি ক যু ন্দ র’; হি দ লো কি ক্য (ঐ, পং. ১৭), ই হ লো কি ক; আবার হি দ লো কি ক (ঐ, পং. ১৮)। ১০৩ একারের যথা, ক লি গ্যে যু, আবার ক লিং গ্যে যু (ঐ); অ ক লি ক্যে আবার অ ক লি কে (৯); ইত্যাদি। পূর্বে (§ ৬০) দেখিয়া আসিলাম কুমায়নীর খসপরজিয়া-বিভাষা বা উপভাষায় একারকে তির্ধ্যাক্ করিয়া য করা হয়, যেমন, জে ঠ (অথবা জে ঠো) স্থানে জ্য ঠ (জ্যোষ্ঠ) ইত্যাদি। বাঙলায় অকারের তির্ধ্যাক্ উচ্চারণ যথা, কৈ ল্য ‘করিল’ (শ্রুতপুরাণ, সা. প., ১৩১৪, পৃ. ৩১,) ব ল্য (< ব লি অ < ব লি হ > ব লি অ >) ‘বলিও’ (উত্তরাাকাণ্ড, সা. প., পৃ. ২৬৫); ইত্যাদি। ১০৪ একারের যথা, কে ট্যে ‘কাটিয়া,’ আন্তে ‘ধাসিয়া’ (উত্তরা. পৃ. ১০১); ইত্যাদি। বর্তমান বাঙলায় আ সি য়া (> আ সি আ > আ সি এ >) এ সে (ই+ এ=এ, প্রাকৃত সন্ধি)।

৬৪। আমরা দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি বাঙলায় একার স্থানে-স্থানে আ উচ্চারিত হয়।

হু গা ল, প্রা. সি আ ল, সন্ধিতে জা ল, র-ল’র পরিবর্তনে জা র; এইরূপ সং. দে ব র, প্রা. দে অ র, তারপর সন্ধিতে জা র। এ+আ, অথবা এ+অ=আ=রা, যেমন, তে+অহং=পালিতে ত্যা হং; সং. কে দা র, কে দা রী, প্রা. কে আ র, কে আ রী (অথবা কে রা র, কে রা রী) ক্রতোচ্চারণে করা রী।

১০২। “.....Nearly the sound of a in ‘hat.’” Grierson, JASB., 1896, part I, No. 3, p. 284.

১০৩। ইহাতে বুঝা যাইবে, আমাদের বর্তমান বাঙলা-প্রভৃতির জায় উচ্চারণ-অনুসারে তখনো সর্বত্র লেখা হইত না, বা পর সময়ে লিপি যথাযথভাবে উৎকীর্ণ হইত না। লেখকেরা যেমন নানারূপ ভ্রম-প্রমাদ করিয়া থাকেন, তখনো সেইরূপই হইত।

১০৪। “দেশে দেশে পা ঠা ল্য যজ্ঞের আমন্ত্রণ” (উত্তরাাকাণ্ড, সা. প. পৃ. ২১২); “লজ্জাবতী পুষ্টি ধৃতী আ ল্যা বেদমাতা,” (ঐ, পৃ. ৬৬)। কিন্তু “রেবতী রোহিণী আদি আ ই লা ইন্দ্রাণী” (ঐ, পৃ. ৬৬), “মাতা পিতা দুই জনে ছো আ ল্য আগুনি” (ঐ, পৃ. ৬৭); “দেশখান বস্ত্রা-

কোথায় এবং কি জন্ত এইরূপ পরিবর্তন হয়, অথবা হয় না, তাহাই আমরা এখন অনুসন্ধান করিতে চেষ্টা করিব। ১০৫

৬৫। আমরা দেখিয়াছি (§৪৭) একার ও আকারের মধ্য অবস্থা আ, ইহাতে একার-আকার উভয়ই মিলিত আছে। একারকে বিস্তার বা প্রসার করিতে-করিতে আমরা ক্রমশ আ-ধ্বনিতে আসিয়া পড়ি। ইহার পর যত দূর পারা যায় প্রসার করিলে শেষে একবার আ-ধ্বনিতে আসা যায়। যতগুলি স্বর আছে তাহাদের মধ্যে আকারের জ্ঞায় প্রসারিত স্বর আর নাই। ইহাই সর্বাপেক্ষা অধিক প্রসারিত, এবং অকারকে ইহার পরেই স্থান দিতে হয়। কখনো-কখনো পূর্ব স্বর পর স্বরকে, কখনো-কখনো বা পর স্বর পূর্ব স্বরকে নিজ-নিজ প্রভাবে অভিভূত করে; অপর কথায়, স্থানে-স্থানে পূর্বস্বর পর স্বরের, এবং স্থানে-স্থানে পর স্বর পূর্ব স্বরের বিকার বা পরিবর্তনের কারণ হয়। আলোচ্য ধ্বনিটি লইয়াই উদাহরণ দিতে পারা যায়। সং. জ্যে ঠ ক, প্রা. জে ট ঠ অ, বা. জে ঠা, উচ্চারণে জা ঠা; কিন্তু জৌলিঙ্গে জে ঠা, জা ঠা নহে। জা ঠা হইতে জা ঠা না হইবার কারণ পরবর্তী ঠকার; এই ঠকারই পূর্ববর্তী একারকে প্রসারিত হইতে দেয় নাই। এখন কোথায় একারের আ-ধ্বনি হয়, ইহা সহজেই জানা যাইতে পারে। যে সকল স্বর একারকে প্রসারিত হইবার সুযোগ প্রদান করিতে পারে, তাহারা পরে থাকিলেই একার আ-রূপে প্রসারিত হইবে। পূর্বে বলিয়াছি, এইরূপ স্বর প্রধানত আকার এবং তাহার পরেই অকার। অতএব হয় আকার, না হয় অকার ১০৬ পরে থাকিলে পূর্বের এ আ হইয়া যায়, এইরূপ একটা সাধারণ নিয়ম করিতে পারা যায়। আ-অ-ভিন্ন স্বর থাকিলে পূর্ববর্তী একারের প্রসার না হইয়া বরং সঙ্কোচই হইয়া থাকে; কারণ আ-অ-ভিন্ন স্বরগুলি স্বয়ংই আ-অ অপেক্ষা সঙ্কুচিত। ১০৭ যে স্বয়ং সঙ্কুচিত সে অতকে প্রসারিত করিতে পারে না।

বা রে কৈল সন্নিধান" (উত্তরা. পৃ. ১৮৯) : "নিরঞ্জন নিরাকার হৈ লা ভেষ্ট অবতার" (শৃঙ্গপুরাণ, পৃ. ১৪১। আবার "আপুনি চণ্ডিকা দেবী তিহ" হৈ ল্যা হায়। বিবি "(শৃঙ্গ. পৃ. ১৪২)। এখানে হৈ ল্যা বস্তুত হ ল্যা, কিন্তু হৈ ল্যা র সাদৃশ্যে হৈ ল্যা হইয়াছে। আবার, "চি ট্যা ফো টা" (শূন্য. পৃ. ৫১) 'ছিটা ফোটা,' কলিকাতায় বিভাষায় 'ছিটে ফোটা'।

১০৫। দ্রষ্টব্য—রবীন্দ্রনাথ, শব্দতত্ত্ব (স্বরবর্ণ 'এ'), পৃ. ১৮-২২; যোগেশ রায় বাঙ্গালা ভাষা, প্রথম ভাগ (ব্যাকরণ), সা. প. ১৩২৯, পৃ. ৪৭-৪৮।

১০৬। অধিকাংশ স্থলে আকার এত হইলেই এইরূপ হইয়া থাকে।

১০৭। আলোচনায় সুবিধার জন্য আমরা এখানে স্থানে-স্থানে আকার ও অকারকে প্রসার ক,

এইরূপ আমরা একটা সাধারণ নিয়ম করিয়া অতঃপর বিশেষ নিয়ম অনুসন্ধান করিব। এ স্থলে একটা কথা মনে মনে রাখা উচিত যে, আমরা যে সকল নিয়ম অনুসন্ধান করিতে যাইতেছি তৎসমুদয় প্রধানত সাধারণ (standard) বাঙলা ভাষায়, ইহার কোনো বিভাষা বা উপভাষায় নহে। ১০৮

৬৬। সংস্কৃত বা তৎসম শব্দসমূহের মধ্যে যেগুলি এখনো আপামর সাধারণে বিশেষ প্রচলিত নহে, অথবা যেগুলি উচ্চ বাঙলাতেই প্রধানত প্রযুক্ত হইয়া থাকে। এবং এইরূপে এখনো কতকটা সংস্কৃতপ্রভাবে অনুপ্রাণিত আছে, তাহাদের একারের আখনি হয় না। যেমন, দে শ, বে শ, কে শ, হে ম, প্রে ম, বে দ, খে দ, মে ধা, দে ব তা, ইত্যাদি। ১০৯

৬৭। একারের পর অ-আ ছাড়া কোনো স্বর থাকিলে হয় না। যথা—

(ক)। ই-বর্গ অর্থাৎ (১) ই, (২) ঈ, (৩) এ থাকিলে—

(১) এ ই, সে ই, ধে ই-ধে ই, খে ই-খে ই, তে ই শ, ঠে লি ল, ইত্যাদি।

(২) মে খী, চে টা, বে ডী, হে চ কী, ইত্যাদি।

(৩) ফে লে, গে লে, এ সে, জে লে, হে লে, ইত্যাদি।

এই সকল স্থানে ই, ঈ, এ সঙ্কেচক, তাই একারকে প্রসারিত করিতে পারে নাই।

দ্রষ্টব্য :—বে পা রী ‘ব্যবসাদার,’ বা পা রী; খেঁ সা রী, খাঁ সা রী; ঘে ন ঘে না নী, ঘা ন-ঘা না নী; পে ন-পে না নী, প্ৰা ন-প্ৰা না নী। এতাদৃশ স্থলে বন্ধিও

১০৮। সাধারণ বাঙলায় আত্ম অক্ষরেই স্থিত একারের আ উচ্চারণ হইয়া থাকে, অজ্ঞত নহে; যেমন দি লে ন, এখানে একার পদের মধ্যে রহিয়াছে বলিয়া আ উচ্চারিত হয় না। কিন্তু পূর্ববঙ্গে কখনো কখনো পদের মধ্যবর্তী একারেরও এরূপ ধ্বনি হইয়া থাকে; যেমন, দি লা ন। অন্ততঃ এইরূপ বৃত্তি হইবে। Grierson সাহেব লিখিয়াছেন (Ling. S. Ind. Vol. V. part I, p. 208) যে, পূর্ববঙ্গে কেবল পদের অন্তেই একারের আ-ধ্বনি হয় না। কিন্তু বস্তুত তাহা নহে, দুই-এক স্থান ভিন্ন পদের মধ্যবর্তীও একারের আ-ধ্বনি হয় না। যেমন তাঁহার পুস্তকেই দেখা যায় চা ক রে র (p. 206, 206). শু ব বৈ র, শু ও রে রা (ঐ), ক রে ক, বি দে শ (p. 216)। পদের আত্ম অক্ষরের একাত্মের হয় না; যেমন, সে, সে ই, ইত্যাদি (p. 206.) এ সম্বন্ধে সাধারণ নিয়ম পূর্ববঙ্গে চলিয়াছে। ত্র :—§§ ৬৭, ৬৮। Grierson সাহেবের পুস্তকে দেখা যায়, মৈমনসিংহের বাঙলায়ই হৈ জো জ বিভাষায় কোনো স্থানেই একারের আ-ধ্বনি নাই।

১০৯। পূর্ববঙ্গে দাঁ শ প্রভৃতি উচ্চারিত হইয়া থাকে। সাধারণ নিয়মের এখানে কোনো ব্যাধি নাই

সন্ধোচক ঈ শেষে আছে, তথাপি তাহা মধ্যবর্তী প্রসারক আকারকে অতিক্রম করিয়া আশ্রয় অক্ষর একারে নিজ প্রভাব বিস্তার করিতে পারে নাই। ১১০। বে চা রী উচ্চারণে বা চা রী হয় না (পরে দ্রষ্টব্য, § ৭৩)।

(খ) উ-বর্গ অর্থাৎ (১) উ, (২) উ, (৩) ও থাকিলে :—

(১) ফে উ, কে উ, ঘে উ-ঘে উ, নে বু, ভে পু, বে শু ন, কে শু র, বে ছ শা, কেঁ চু যা, মে ছু যা, ইত্যাদি স্থলে শেষে আ থাকিলেও তাহা পূর্ববর্তী উকারকে লঙ্ঘন করিয়া একারকে বিকৃত করিতে পারে নাই।

(২) উকার দিয়া উদাহরণ দুর্লভ।

(৩) পেঁ চো, দৈঁ তো, রে চো, কে চো, পে চো, ভে চো ইত্যাদি। ১১১।

১১০। হি-ই লা র চী (অথবা ই লা চী, ই ল্লা চী), বা. এ লা চি (=সং. এ লা + কারসী প্রত্যয় চ; হি ন্দী শ ব্দ সা গ র), উচ্চারণে আ লা চি, এখানেও পূর্বোক্ত নিয়মে কাজ হইয়াছে। মূল শব্দটি (এ লা) সংস্কৃতে বা সংস্কৃতরূপে প্রসিদ্ধ হইলেও বহু অভ্যাসে বাঙলার স্থায় পরিগণিত হওয়ার সাধারণ নিয়মেই ইহার একার উচ্চারিত হয় আ।

১১১। সং. দে র র, প্রা. দে অ র, বা. দে অ র উচ্চারণে দা অ র, লিপিতেও বস্তুত দে অ র। যোগেশ বাবু ঠিকই লিখিয়াছেন। জ্ঞানেন্দ্র বাবু নিজ অভিধানে লিখিয়াছেন দে ও র; অকার হ্রস্বতম ওকার হইতে পারে, কিন্তু সেখানে উচ্চারণে দা ও র হইতে পারে না, যুক্তিতে আসে না। হি. খে ল রা ড়, বা. খে লো রা ড়, উচ্চারণে খা লো রা ড়। এখানে প্রথমত খা ল ও রা ড়, তারপর খা লো রা ড়। যেখানে লকার হ্রস্ব ওকার হ্রস্পষ্ট বা পূর্ণভাবে উচ্চারিত হয় সেখানে একারের আ-ধ্বনি হইবে না। যেখানে সমগ্র শব্দটি তিন অক্ষরে খে-লো-রাড়, সেখানে কিছুতেই আ-ধ্বনি হইবে না। কিন্তু যেখানে দুই অক্ষর খে ল-ও রা ড়, সেখানে আ-ধ্বনি স্বভাবতই হইবে। উচ্চারণ ও লেখার সামঞ্জস্য না থাকায় খে লো রা ড় লিখিয়া (জ্ঞানেন্দ্র বাবুর অভিধানে) খা লো রা ড় উচ্চারণ করা হইয়াছে। অন্তর-ধ্বনি প্রকাশ করিবার জন্ত পৃথক বর্ণ না পাওয়ার কারণ আমাদের নিকটে অণ্ডহ র ও বর্গীয় ব উভয়ই বর্গীয় ব-রূপে উচ্চারিত হয়) বাধ্য হইয়া রা-কে (=উ আ-কে) ও আ অথবা ও রা করিতে হইয়াছে, এবং ইহাতেই আলোচ্য স্থলে গোল-বারিতেছে। অন্তর-ধ্বনি খে ল রা ড় লিখিলে খা ল রা ড় উচ্চারণে কোনো সম্ভেদই আসিত না। এখানে নিয়মের কোনো ব্যতিক্রমই হয় নাই, কারণ এখানে ওকার নাই, রা ড় শব্দকে আমরা কতকটা ও রা ড় করিয়াছি মাত্র। দে ও রা ল (< ফা. দী রা র, *dar*), দে ও রা ন (< ফা. দী রা ন, *dar*), ইত্যাদি স্থলেও যথাক্রমে মূলত রা র (=রা ল), রা ন থাকায় দা ও রা ল অথবা দা ও রা ল, এবং দা ও রা ন কিংবা দা ও রা ন ইত্যাদি হইয়া থাকে। কেহ-কেহ বা দে আ ল অথবা দে রা ল, এবং দে আ ন বা দে রা ন উচ্চারণ করিয়া থাকেন। এখানে এই একারের আ-উচ্চারণ না হইবার কারণ পরে (§§ ৬৯, ৭০) বলা হইবে। দে ও রা, দা ও রা ইত্যাদি

৬৮। একাক্ষর শব্দের এ সাধারণত ১১২ আ হয় না। যথা, এ, সে, কে, যে, রে,, ইত্যাদি। এ ই, সে ই. কে উ, যে উ, ইত্যাদি সম্বন্ধেও এই নিয়ম প্রযোজ্য ;

হুলেও এই সমাধান ; দে রা হইতে দে ও রা। এখানে একারান্তরেও একটু বিচার করিয়া দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়। দে ও রা শব্দের মধ্যবর্তী ওকার যদি সম্পূর্ণ উচ্চারিত হয়, অর্থাৎ পূর্ণ তিনটি অক্ষরকেই উচ্চারণ করা হয়—দে-ও-রা-, তাহা হইলে পূর্বের এ কখনো আ হইবে না। দে ও রা বখন দা ও রা উচ্চারিত হয়, তখন তাহার অক্ষরবিভাগ দে ও-আ- (অথবা দে ও-রা-), দুই অক্ষর মাত্র। এখানে পরবর্তী ওকার হ্রস্বতম বলিয়া পূর্বের একারেরই অঙ্গীভূত হইয়া যায়। কিন্তু যদি অক্ষর-বিভাগ এইরূপ হয়—দে- ওরা- অথবা দে-ওআ, তাহা হইলেও ওকারটা হ্রস্বতম থাকে, কিন্তু ইহা পূর্বের একারে অঙ্গীভূত না হইয়া পরের আকারের অঙ্গীভূত হয়। ওকারটা হ্রস্বতম হইলেও সঙ্কেচক, তাই তাহা দ্বিতীয় অক্ষরের (দে-ওআ-) প্রথমে থাকার পূর্ববর্তী একারের আ-রূপে বিকৃত হইবার মুখেই বাধা দেয়, এবং সেই জন্যই দা-ওআ- হয় না। দে- ওরা হয়। কিন্তু যখন অক্ষর-বিভাগ দে ও-আ, তখন উচ্চারণোন্মুখ একারের অন্তিম অক্ষর প্রসারক আকারের দিকে প্রধান লক্ষ্য থাকায় তাহার নিজের অন্তর্গত অপ্রধান অঙ্গ হ্রস্বতম ওকারের দিকে কোনো দৃকপাত করিবার অবসর না পাইয়া আ হইয়া যায়। একটা হুল দৃষ্টান্ত দিতে পারা যায়। mat শব্দের a=æ=আ, কিন্তু ঐ শব্দটার শেষে যেই একটা ও জুড়িয়া দেওয়া যায়, অর্থাৎ mate লেখা হয়, æ অমনি ও হইয়া পড়ে। দে বা অবজ্ঞাভাবে দা বা উচ্চারিত হয়, কিন্তু যেই শেষের আকার-স্থানে ঐকার দেওয়া যায় (দে বী), একার অমনি তাহা লক্ষ্য করিয়া আ হইতে না পারিয়া নিজ রূপেই থাকিয়া যায়।

‘দান কর’ এই অর্থে কেহ-কেহ বলেন দা ও । এখানে কোনো গোলমাল নাই। কিন্তু কেহ-কেহ বলেন দা ও । শেষে সঙ্কেচক ওকার রহিয়াছে, এ কিরূপে আ হইল? আমার মনে হয়, প্রা দে হ > দে অ। তাহার পর অকারের হ্রস্বতম ওকার-উচ্চারণে দে অ=দে অ=দে ও। যেমন সং. পা দ > প্রা. পা অ > পা অ=পা ও ; সং. মা তা > প্রা. মা আ ক্রমশ মা অ > মা অ= > মা ও :—

“কৈলাসেতে শিব গোরখনাথ মিল পা ও।

শিবের ঘরনী নামিল রাজা সতীর মা ও ॥”

ময়নামতীর গান (বঙ্গসাহিত্যপরিচয়, কলিকাতা বিশ্ব-১ম খণ্ড, পৃ. ১০১)।

দে অ হইতে দা অ। পরে সেই উচ্চারণটা পরবর্তী অকার হ্রস্বতম ওকার হইলেও পূর্ব অভ্যাস বশত সেইরূপই চলিয়া আসিতেছে। অথবা আমাদের কাছে বলিতে হইবে যে, ওকার নিজের পূর্ণমাত্রার থাকিলেই সঙ্কেচক হয়, কিন্তু যখন মাত্রার হ্রাসে পূর্ববর্তী অক্ষরের অন্তর্গত হইয়া পড়ে, তখন তাহার সঙ্কেচ করিয়া শক্তি নষ্ট হয়।

১১২। অবজ্ঞা বা বিরক্তি প্রভৃতির ভাব প্রকাশ পাইলে একাক্ষর শব্দেরও একার কখনো কখনো আ হয় ; যেমন, ভেঁ ভেঁ, ভাঁ ভাঁ ; ‘ছেলেটা ভাঁ ভাঁ করিতে লাগিল।’ এইরূপ কা. ইত্যাদি। ছি > ছে > ছা।

কারণ এই সকল শব্দে বস্তুত এক-একটি অক্ষর, দুই-দুইটি নহে (স্রঃ—আমার অক্ষর তত্ত্ব, সা. প. প. ১৩২৫, ১ম সংখ্যা, পৃ. ২২-৩০)। কে-কে, যে-যে, ইত্যাদি স্থলেও এই নিয়মে কাজ হইয়াছে, অথবা §৬৭ (৩) অনুসারেও ইহাদের সমাধান হইতে পারে।

টা-প্রভৃতি প্রত্যয়ের যোগে অথবা শব্দান্তরের সহিত ঈদৃশ একাক্ষর শব্দের সমাসেও এই নিয়মের ব্যভিচার হয় না। যথা, এ-টা, সে-টা, কে-টা, এ-র ‘ইহার’ ইত্যাদি। ‘তিন’ অর্থে তে, ইহার যোগে তে-কাঁ টা, তা-কাঁ টা নহে; এইরূপ তে-পা ঝা, তে-তা লি শ, ইত্যাদি। এ ম ন, কে ম ন, তে ম ন প্রভৃতি শব্দ যদিও মূলত এ+ম ন, কে+ম ন ইত্যাদি, এবং এইরূপে এখানে একাক্ষর শব্দের সহিত সমাস, তথাপি পরবর্তী অংশের (‘মন’) সহিত ঐ একাক্ষর শব্দের সাহচর্যের অভ্যাসে শব্দটি সমগ্রভাবে আনেকাক্ষর হওয়ায় একারের আ-ধ্বনি হইয়া থাকে—আ ম ন, কা ম ন, তা ম ন, ইত্যাদি। অতএব আলোচ্য নিয়মের ব্যভিচার হয় নাই।

৬৯। একারের পর (ক) য ও (খ) হ থাকিলে হয় না। যথা—

(ক)। দে য, গে য, আ খে য, ইত্যাদি।^{১১৩} আবার, কে য়া ‘কেতকী’, কে য়া রী ‘আল-ঘেরা ছোট-ছোট জমির টুকরা, বে য়া ড়া ‘ছুট’, গে য়া ন ‘জ্ঞান’, খে য়া ন ‘খান’, বে য়া ন ‘পুত্রাদির শাওড়ী’ ইত্যাদি।

(খ)। কে হ, যে হ, নে হ ‘স্নেহ’, লে হ, দে হ, ইত্যাদি। আবার, নে হা ল ‘আতা’, নে হা ৎ (ফা. নি হা য় ৎ, نِهَاتْ) ‘নিতান্ত’ ইত্যাদি।

৭০। য, হ. পরে থাকিলে একার আ হয় না কেন দেখিতে হইবে। পাঠকগণকে মনে রাখিতে হইবে, এখানে উচ্চারণে য=জ নহে, য়। আবার য়=ইঅ। অতএব কে য়া=কে+ইঅ=কেইঅ। তাই একারের অব্যবহিত পরেই, স্বল্পমাত্রায় হইলেও সঙ্কোচক ইকার থাকায়, অপর কথায়, তালব্য অর্ধস্বর য়কার থাকায় একার প্রসার লাভ করিবার সুযোগ পায় না, এবং তাহাতেই আ হয় না।

কিন্তু, ‘সে দা য না’, দা য় কিরূপ হয়? ✓ দা হইতে প্রা. দে ই, এবং * দে এ,

প্রা-বা. দে এ (ত্রিকক্ষকীর্তন, শৃঙ্গপু. ইত্যাদি)।^{১১৪} এখানে দে-এ-এই দুইটি পৃথক-পৃথক উচ্চারিত অক্ষরের মধ্যে অন্ত্য অক্ষর এ হয় দীর্ঘ না হয় হ্রস্বভাবে উচ্চারিত হইত। তাহার পর অন্ত্যস্বরের প্রস্তুতা হেতু মাত্রা-হ্রাসে

১১৩। এই-জাতীয় শব্দগুলিকে § ৬৬ নিয়মেরই অন্তর্গত বলিতে পারা যায়। ঈদৃশ খাঁটি বাঙলা শব্দের উদাহরণ অনুসন্ধান কর।

১১৪। এইরূপ গা এ ‘গায়’, ক র এ ‘করে’।

দে-এ- শব্দ দে-র. (দে র্) এই এক অক্ষরে পরিণত হয়। এখানে অন্ত্য যকার স্পষ্ট র নহে, র-প্রতি মাত্র, অর্থাৎ দে র্.=দে অ., কেবল অকারে ঈষৎ একটু যকারের আমেজ।^{১১৫}

১১৫। প্রা. ক-র-ই-, ক-র-এ (প্রা. প্র. ৭. ১) 'করে'। প্রাচীন বাঙলাতেও ক র এ অনেক স্থানে পাওয়া যায়। ক-র-এ- হইতে ক-র এ- (দুই অক্ষর), ক্রমশ ক-র-র. ; আবার কাহারো নিকটে ক-র-র- (ইহাও প্রাচীন বাঙলা ও বৈধীলীতে পাওয়া যায়)। ক-র-র- হইতে আবার ক-র-অ (চর্যাচর্যা, ২১১) ; এই পদেই এইরূপ অনেক, ত থ অ 'ভক্ষণ করে, তু ট অ 'টুটে' 'ছিন্ন হয়', থ ন অ 'থু'ড়ে, চ র অ 'চরে'। এইরূপেই হ-এ- (শৃঙ্গপু. পৃ. ৫৭ ইত্যাদি) 'হয়' হইতে হ-এ- > হ র ; আবার হ র এবং হ অ (শৃঙ্গপু. পৃ. ৩৬)। আলোচ্য দে এ শব্দের স্থানেও এইরূপে পরবর্তী এ=অ পূর্ববর্তী একারকে প্রসারিত করে। প্রসঙ্গত এখানে আর একটি কথা বলি। যেমন এ>র (> অ), সেইরূপ আবার র>এ বাঙলা-মৈথিলীতে অনেক। যেমন, রা র > রা এ (বিদ্যাপতি, সা. প. পদ ৪৭৭) ; উ পা র=উ পা এ (ঐ, পদ ৪০৬), ত ন র=ত ন এ (শৃঙ্গপু. পৃ. ২৬, ২৭), না র ক=না এ ক (ঐ, ৭৫), না রা র ৭=না রা এ ন (বিদ্যাপতি, ঐ, পদ ৪৭৭)। এই য- (অথবা অ র, আ র-)-স্থানে একার পালি-প্রাকৃতে প্রসিদ্ধ, অন্ত্যস্থ প্রাদেশিক ভাষাতেও বহু দেখা যায়। বাঙলায় হ এ, ত ন এ প্রভৃতির একার যে, স্থানে-স্থানে (ব্রহ্ম, বা ছন্দ-অনুসারে দীর্ঘ) একার-রূপেই উচ্চারিত হয়, সে বিষয়ে কোনো সন্দেহ নাই ; কিন্তু স্থানে-স্থানে আবার এই একার প্রত্যয় প্রকার, অথবা যশ্রুতিবিশিষ্ট প্রত্যয় অকার হইয়া উচ্চারিত হইত। ছন্দের দ্বারা ইহা নিশ্চয় করিতে পারা যায় :—

“চৌদ্দিগে জ অ জ অ

সংখর বাজ্জ হ এ

রচিল রামাই পণ্ডিতে।”

শৃঙ্গপু., পৃ ১৩১।

এখানে হ এ শব্দের একারের ধ্বনি নির্ণয় করিতে হইবে, এবং তাহা করিতে হইলে একমাত্র জ অ শব্দের অন্ত্য অকারের ধ্বনির দ্বারা তাহা করা বাইতে পারে। এখানে জ অ জ অ শব্দ জ-অ- জ-অ- এইরূপ দুই-দুই অক্ষরে উচ্চারিত হইয়াছে বলিতে পারা যায় না, তাহা হইলে হ এ শব্দের একারের ধ্বনির সহিত মিল থাকে না। যদি তাহাদের মিল রাখিতে হয় তাহা হইলে বলিতে হইবে আলোচ্য একারের ধ্বনি আর অকারের ধ্বনিটি একই। অতএব জ অ জ অ শব্দের অ-দুইটিকে প্রত্যয় ও যশ্রুতিবিশিষ্ট করিয়া উচ্চারণ করা ভিন্ন উপায় নাই। অতএব জ অ জ অ বস্তুত দাঁড়াইল জ র- জ র- (র- =যশ্রুতি বিশিষ্ট অ)। পরবর্তী পণ্ডিতের হ এ শব্দের এ-ধ্বনিকেও এইরূপ যশ্রুতিবিশিষ্ট মনে করিতে হইবে। অপর কথায়, এই একারও র-। আর যদি জ অ জ অ কাহারো নিকট জ-র- জ-র- এইরূপ সম্পূর্ণ র- ধ্বনি-বিশিষ্ট হয়, তাহা হইলে আলোচ্য একারকেও সেই রূপেই বলিয়া স্বীকার করিতে হইবে, অর্থাৎ হ এ=হ র। কিন্তু এরূপ মনে করা যায় না। আরো দুই-একটি উদাহরণ দিই :—

“বস্তা বিষ্ণু মহেশ্বর জাহার ত ন এ

রজ সত্ত তম তুম্বি (বস্তুত তু ন্ হি) সর্বগুণ ম র।”—শৃঙ্গপুরাণ, পৃষ্ঠা ২৭।

৭১। একারের পর সংযোগ থাকিলে হয় না। যেমন, এ কা, টে কা, যে মা, তে ঠা, কে ঠা, ইত্যাদি। এখানে পরবর্তী সংযোগ পূর্ববর্তী একারকে প্রসারিত হইতে দেয় না। সংযোগ না থাকিলে একার নিজেকে প্রসারিত করিবার স্থান পাইত, কিন্তু একটা ব্যঞ্জন মধ্যে, অর্থাৎ একার ও আকারের মধ্যে আসিয়া স্থান অধিকার করায় একার নিজের প্রসারে বাধা পায়। পরবর্তী সংযোগ পূর্ববর্তী স্বরকে সঙ্কুচিতই করে, যদিও তাহার গুরুত্বকে বাড়াইয়া তোলে।

৭২। ঝাঁটা, ঝাঁটা; ইত্যাদি স্থলে আত্ম আকার কিরূপে আ হইয়া যায় তাবিবার বিষয়। আমার মনে হয়—

(১) বাঙ্গলার সাধারণ নিয়মে আত্ম অক্ষরে (এখানে আকারে) ঝাঁক পড়ায় ও পরে প্রসারক (বা প্রসারিত আ থাকায় পূর্বের আকার যেন একটু লম্বা হইয়া যায় (আ—); এই আকারের অবয়ব পূর্বে যেরূপ নিবিড় বা সংহত ছিল সেরূপ না থাকিয়া একটু বিশিষ্ট বা ফাঁক-ফাঁক হইয়া যায়। এই একটু ফাঁক (hiatus) হওয়ার সেখানে একটু য-শ্রুতি হয় (হেম, ৮.১.১৮৯; শুভ, ১.৩.৫; চণ্ড ৩৫; Hornle p. 18; শা স্তি নি কে ত ন, ১৩২৭, বৈশাখ, পৃ ২০-২২), এবং এইরূপে আ ক্রমশ বস্তুত য়া অথবা আ হইয়া যায়। সংস্কৃত ও প্রাকৃতে শোকছুঃখাদিসূচক অব্যয় হা, ইহা বা.ম.শু.হি. প্রভৃতিতে হা য়। এখানে হা শব্দের আকারটা পূর্বের ত্রায় দীর্ঘীভূত (হা—) হওয়ার য় শ্রুতিতে য় আদিয়াছে। হা হা হইতে হা য়, ইহা মনে হয় না, তাহা হইলে হা য় হা য় (< হা হা হা হা) এইরূপ স্বিকৃতির সমাধান একটু কষ্ট কল্পনা করিয়া করিতে হইবে। অপর দিকে, দীর্ঘ য-আগমের প্রমাণ স্থানান্তরে পাওয়া যাইতেছে। যেমন, ফারসীতে বহুবচনের বিভক্তি হা (ها) স্থানে মরাঠীতে হা য় হইয়া থাকে, যেমন ফা. মহল হা (محلہ), ম. মহল হা য় ‘মহলগুলি’। এখানে পাঠকগণের সহজেই মনে হইবে যে, পদের অন্তে আকারের পর যদিও য-শ্রুতি

কিন্তু আবার,

ভারতি আকুল

জ্ঞেও কেও আবএ

বড় কর সমাধান ॥ ২ ॥

হমে যে ভাবিনি

ভাদয় জামিনি

অএলাহ জানি হুঠাম ॥ ৪ ॥

বিদ্যাপতি, সা. প. পদ ৫২৭।

এখানে আ কুল শব্দের শেষ অকারের সহিত আ ব এ শব্দের একারের মিল রাধিতে হইলে বলিতে হইবে এ—য়, তারপর এই গ্রন্থ য় অগ্রন্থ য় হইয়া গিয়াছে, এবং লেখার অভ্যাস বশত ইহাও এ বর্ণ দ্বারা লিখিত হইয়াছে।

বা আগম দেখা যায়, তথাপি পদমধ্যে এইরূপ হইবার প্রমাণ কি। প্রমাণের অভাব নাই, একটা দিতেছি। সং. অ শী তি, প্রা. আ সী ঙ্গ, (আকারের জ্ঞ প্রভব্য Weber's Bhāgavati 426—Hornle p. 260 § 397), বি. প. অ স্ সী, বহু প্রাদেশিক ভাষাতে আ সী, কিন্তু মাঁ আ রঁ শী; সং. অ নে ক, শূত্রপুরাণ (পৃ. ৭৫) অ হ নে ক ("অ হ নে ক গতি দিল জঅ জঅ কার।" পা—কা ইত্যাদি স্থলে দীর্ঘীভূত আকারের যশ্রুতি হইলে তাহা কতকটা পাঁ যা কা হইবে, পাঁ কা কিরূপে হয়? এ প্রশ্নের ইহাই উত্তর যে, ঐ যকারের দ্বারা আকারটা উপরজিত হয়, এবং ইহাতেই আকারটার ত্রিযাক্ উচ্চারণ হইবার কারণ উপস্থিত হয়। বা. ছা ক ডা, বা খারী প্রভৃতি, ও ম. স ত্তা হ ত্ত র (৭৭), অ ট্ ঠা হ ত্ত র প্রভৃতিরও এইরূপ সমাধান হইতে পারে। ছা ক ডা, বা খারী শব্দে প্রথম অক্ষরে বৌক থাকায় আলোচ্য নিয়ম থাকিতে বাধা নাই। স ত্তা হ ত্ত র, অ ট্ ঠা হ ত্ত র শব্দের যথাক্রমে মূল সং. স গ্তা ° > প্রা. স ত্তা °, সং. অ ষ্টা ° > প্রা. অ ট্ ঠা ° (হেম. ৮.১.৪)। সং. স গ্ত ও অ ষ্ট শব্দের অন্ত্য অক্ষরেই বৌক (প্রাকৃতে স ত্তা < স গ্ত হইবার ইহা কারণ হইতে পারে)। সম্ভবত ইহারই প্রভাবে এই দুইটি মরাঠা শব্দ ঐরূপ হইয়া থাকিবে (See Hornle, p. 258)।

(২) আলোচ্য বিষয়টির অত্র কারণও থাকিতে পারে। অমুনাসিক বর্ণ পরে থাকিলে পূর্বের অবর্ণ স্থানে কখনো-কখনো ইকার বা একার হইয়া থাকে, ইহা আমরা পূর্বে (§ ৩৮) দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি। ঝাঁটা প্রভৃতি আলোচ্য শব্দেও অমুনাসিক স্বরের প্রভাবে এইরূপ ইকার অথবা ইহারেরই রূপান্তর যকারের উপরায় আসিতে পারে। এই শ্রেণীর পদগুলির অধিকাংশেরই মধ্যে (§ ৪৯) অমুনাসিক ধ্বনি দেখা যায়। এইরূপ হইলে বা. ছা ক ডা প্রভৃতি শব্দ সাদৃশ্যবশত হইয়াছে বলিয়া ব্যাখ্যা করিতে পারা যায়।

৭৩। সাধারণ বাঙলায় যেখানে ই, অথচ কলিকাতায় বিভাষায় এ, সেখানে এই একার-স্থানে আ হয় না। এখানে প্রথম অক্ষরে বৌক পড়ায় একটি পরিবর্তনের পর অপর পরিবর্তন হইবার আর সুযোগ থাকে না। ১১৬ যেমন, শি খা শব্দের প্রথম

১১৬। স্থানান্তরে (অ কার ত ত্ব, সা. প. প. ১৩২৫, ১ম সংখ্যা, পৃ. ৪২, টীকা) বলিয়াছি, কলিকাতায় বিভাষায় ণো না (শু না) প্রভৃতির ওকারটা শু না ণ্দের আশ্রয় অক্ষরে বৌক পড়ায় নহে। কিন্তু এখন আমার মনে হইতেছে বস্তুত তাহা সেইজন্মই হইয়াছে। মু খা-মু খি প্রভৃতি শব্দের আশ্রয় উকারের ওকার না হইবার কারণ এই মনে হয় যে, ঈদৃশ স্থলে উকারের পরবর্তী অক্ষর আকার উকার অপেক্ষা দীর্ঘ।

তক্ষরের বৌকে শেখা হইয়া গেলে এই একার আবার প্রসার লাভ করে না। আলোচ্য এই একারটা এখনো পরিবর্তনসহ হইয়া উঠে নাই, হয় তো কালে ইহাও স্না হইয়া উঠিবে। অপর পক্ষে যেখানে পূর্ব হইতেই এ আছে, সেখানে অমুকুল অবস্থায় তাহা স্না হইয়া যায়, যেমন দে খা, দা খা। ১১১ আলোচ্য উদাহরণ যথা—

সাধারণ বাঙলা	কলিকাতায় বাঙলা
টি পা	টে পা
কি না	কে না
লি খা	লে খা
মি লা	মে লা ১১৮
মি শা	মে শা ১১৯

অপর পক্ষে—

ঠে কা	ঠা কা
খেল	খা লা
ফে লা	ফা লা

এই নিয়মটি আরো একটু ব্যাপক হইতে পারে। অকার-আকার প্রভৃতিরও স্থলে, কলিকাতার বিভাষায় যেখানে এ হয়, সেখানে এই একার পূর্বোক্ত কারণে (দ্রঃ § ৭৪) তির্যক্ হয় না (হয়তো কালে হইবে, অথবা কোনো-কোনো স্থানে হইতে আরম্ভ হইয়াছে)। যেমন, সং. প্র হ, বা. পে র; সং. প্র গা ম, বা. পে ল্লা ম,

১১১। আলোচ্য নিয়মটি রবীন্দ্রনাথ অন্তরকমে ধরিয়াছেন (শব্দতত্ত্ব, পৃ. ২১) :—যে সকল অসমাপিকা ক্রিয়ার আন্তর অক্ষরে ই সংযুক্ত থাকে, বিশেষ রূপধারণ কালে তাহাদের সেই ইকার একারে বিকৃত হইবে, এবং অসমাপিকারূপে যে সকল ক্রিয়ার আন্তর অক্ষরে এ সংযুক্ত থাকে, বিশেষরূপে তাহাদের সেই একার অ্যাকারে পরিণত হইবে। যথা, কি নিয়া, কে না, বে চি রা, ব্যা চা; ইত্যাদি।

১১২। অর্থাৎ ‘মিলিত হওরা’। ‘উৎসবাদি জন্ত জনতা’ বুঝাইতে মে লা উচ্চারণে হয় মা লা (প্রা. মে ল অ < সং. মে ল ক)।

১১৩। সিঁ চা, সৈঁ চা, উচ্চারণে স্নাঁ চা। এখানে অনুমানিক থাকায় এইরূপ হইয়াছে (§ ৫৫ ৩৮, ৬৪)। ‘বিক্রয় করা’ অর্থে √বে চ খাত্ত হিন্দী প্রভৃতির স্থায় বাঙলাতেও প্রসিদ্ধ আছে। ইহা সং. বি+ √ক্রী হইতে বলা যাইতে পারে, কিন্তু তাহা হইলেও √বি চ্ না হইয়া একেবারে √বে চ হওয়ার তাহা হইতে বে চা, বা চা। অতএব আলোচ্য স্থলে নিয়মের ব্যাভিচার হয় নাই। হিন্দীতে কখনো-কখনো বৈ চ উচ্চারণও হয় (Beams, Vol. 14, p. 64। দ্রষ্টব্য—শব্দতত্ত্ব, পৃ. ১২। সে ক রা, সা ক রা; নিশ্চয়ই ইহা স্বর্ণকার হইতে নহে; স্বর্ণকার > সোনার।

পে না ম; প্রা. বা হি র, বা. বের, সং. স্ব ত, বা. যে ত। দ্রষ্টব্য § ৬৩; রা খি ও, রে খো; জা নি ও, জে নো; মা রি ও, মে রো; ইত্যাদি।

৭৪। আরবী, ফারসী বা অপর ভাষা হইতে জাত একার আ হয় না। কিন্তু যদি শব্দটি নিত্যন্ত অভ্যস্ত বা পরিচিত হইয়া যায়, তাহা হইলে সাধারণ নিয়ম অনুসারে ইহারও প্রসার হইয়া আ-ধ্বনি হইয়া থাকে, বা হইবে। আরবী প্রভৃতির অকার-ইকারাদি বাঙলায় একার হইলে পূর্বোক্ত নিয়মে (§ ৭৩) ইহাও আ হয় না, তবে নিত্যন্ত অভ্যস্ত হইলে তাহাও হয়। ১২০ যথা, হি. বি হা গ, বা. বে হা গ; হি. ভে ট, বা. ভে ট; হি. ভে থ, বা. ভেক; আ. খি লা ত, (خلعت) খে লা ত, বা. খে লা ত; আ. খি লা প (خلپ), খে লা প, বা. খে লা প; আ. জি লা (ملع), বা. জে লা; ফা. জে র বা র (زبرار), বা. জে র বা র; আ. ফ সা দ (فساد), বা. ফে সা দ (অ=এ), অত্যন্ত অভ্যস্ত হওয়ায় ফা সা দ; আ. ফ রা র (فرار), বা. ফে রা র; ইত্যাদি। ইং ফে'ল (fail), বা. ফে ল; হি. ফি র, বা. ফে র; হি. সি লা ঈ, বা. সে লা ই; ইত্যাদি।

৭৫। পূর্বে যেরূপ আলোচিত হইল (§ ৬৭), তাহাতে জানা যাইবে, সাধারণত অ (গ্রস্ত বা অগ্রস্ত) -আ থাকিলে পূর্ববর্তী আন্ত একারের আ ধ্বনি হয়। কিন্তু এ নিয়ম সর্বত্র অব্যভিচারী নহে। অনুসন্ধান করিলে কতক স্থানে ব্যভিচারের কারণ পাওয়া যায়, কিন্তু অপর স্থলে তেমন কিছু পাওয়া যায় না। নিম্নলিখিত শব্দগুলি দ্রষ্টব্য—

ফে র, হি. ফি র; অতএব এখানে ব্যভিচার হয় নাই (§ ৭৪)। ফি রা হইতে ফে রা 'ঘুরা' (হি. ফি র না, ম. ফি র গেঁ); এখানেও ব্যভিচার নহে (§ ৭৩)। বা. হি. ম. ঘে র, ঘে রা (ঙ. ঘে র, তুল. হি. ঘি র না), এই পদ দুইটি নিশ্চয়ই সংস্কৃত ✓ গ্রহ হইতে; তাই (§ ৭৩) এখানে সাধারণই উচ্চারণ রক্ষিত হইয়াছে। পূর্ববঙ্গ-প্রভৃতিতে আ উচ্চারণ থাকিতে পারে। ঢে র (হি. ম. ও. ও., শু. ম. ঢে ল), এতাদৃশ স্থলেও সাধারণই উচ্চারণ এখনো চলিয়াছে, কালে পরিবর্তন হইয়া যাইতে পারে, বা কোথাও-কোথাও ইহার আরম্ভও হইয়া গিয়াছে। হি. ঢে লা (< পা. লে ডু < সং. লে ঠু, তুল: লা ডু), বা. ঢে লা, ডে লা, উচ্চারিত হয়

১২০। যেখানে আধুনিক বাঙলা নিজের সাধারণ নিয়মে নূতন-নূতন শব্দ উৎপন্ন করিতেছে সেখানে তাদৃশ শব্দের মত উৎপন্ন একার বিকৃত বা ভিধ্যক হয় না। যেমন, প্রা. বা হি র হইতে বের উচ্চারণে বা র হয় না। প্রঃ— ৭৫।

ঢালা, ডালা। বাঙলা এখানে নিজের উচ্চারণ দিয়াছে। বের, 'বাহির';
 ব্র:— § ৭৩। সে র অথবা শের, হি. শের 'ওজন বিশেষ', আজকাল সাধারণত
 ৮০ তোলা'; শেরা 'শ্রেষ্ঠ', সং. শিরস্ অথবা ফা. সর (سر); শেজ 'শয্যা';
 ইত্যাদি শব্দে পরস্পর-সম্বন্ধ ভাষাসমূহের উচ্চারণের প্রভাবের কথা মনে রাখিয়া
 সমাধান করিতে হইবে। টের শব্দের একারের ত্রিয্যক্ ধ্বনি হয় না, কিন্তু তের
 হয় ত্যার, ইহার কারণ কি বলিতে পারি না। মেজ, সেজ। এখানে মূলত
 (সং. মধ্যক > প্রা. মজ্জা অ > মাঝ অ > মাঝ হইতে কলিকাতায় বিভাষায়
 মেজ, তাই (§ ৭৩) ইহার এ ত্রিয্যক্ হয় নাই। ইহারই সাদৃশ্বে সেজ শব্দেও
 আ হয় নাই বলা যাইতে পারে। বস্তুত শেষে সঙ্কোচক হ্রস্বতম ওকার থাকাতাই
 এরূপ হয় নাই।

অনুনাসিক বর্ণ পূর্ব স্বরকে বিকৃত করে বলিয়া (§§ ৩৮, ৪৬, ৬৯; দ্রষ্টব্য—
 শব্দতত্ত্ব, পৃ. ১৯) নিম্নলিখিত স্থলে একারের ত্রিয্যক্ ধ্বনি হইয়াছে:—কেন,
 কান; যেন (ক্ৰে°), যান (জ্ঞা°); হেন, হান; তেন, তান; এমন,
 আমন; ফেন, ফান; ইত্যাদি। সেন 'উপাধি বিশেষ' সান হয় না, এখনো
 সম্মানস্থানায় সংস্কৃত প্রভাব আছে বলিয়া, কিন্তু অবজ্ঞায় লোকে সান বলিয়া থাকে।

ঠেল, খেল, গেল যথাক্রমে ঠাল, খাল, গাল; ইত্যাদি স্থলে কোনো ব্যভিচার
 নাই। কিন্তু তেল, শেল, বেল ইত্যাদি স্থলে আ হয় না কেন? যদিও মূল তি ল
 হইতে তেল, বিশ্ব হইতে বেল, এবং এইরূপে ইকারকে একার করিয়া লওয়া
 হইয়াছে, তথাপি এত পূর্বে এই পরিবর্তন হইয়াছে যে, সমস্ত প্রাদেশিক ভাষায়
 এই দুই শব্দ পাওয়া যায়; অতএব বাঙলার উচ্চারণ-বৈচিত্র্যের প্রভাবে এখানে
 একার-স্থানে আ হইবার কারণ রহিয়াছে। শুল হইতে বাঙলায় শেল (ইহা
 সংস্কৃত শব্দ নহে)। § ৭৪ অনুসারে ইহার সমাধান করিবার চেষ্টা করিলেও করিতে
 পারা যায়, কিন্তু তথাপি আ না হইবার প্রবল কারণ দেখা যায় না। উত্তর বা
 পূর্ববঙ্গে তাল, বাল খুবই শোনা যায়।

এখানে যাহা আলোচিত হইল তাহাতে কলিকাতারই বিভাষায় বা সাধারণ
 বাঙলার কতকগুলি স্থানে আলোচ্য নিয়মটির ব্যভিচার দেখা গেল; কিন্তু সাধারণত
 উত্তর বা পূর্ব বঙ্গের বিভাষায় ব্যভিচার নাই।^{১২১} ইহাতে মনে হয়, কলিকাতার

^{১২১} Ling. S. Ind.-এ ভাষাসমূহের লিখিত শব্দগুলির বানান সর্বত্র ধ্বনি-অনুসারে ঠিক
 করিয়া লেখা হয় নাই। কেহ যদি শুদ্ধ করিয়া লিখিতে পারেন, তাহা হইলে আলোচনার বিশেষ
 সুবিধা হয়। বলাই বাহুল্য এ বিষয়ে অগ্রণী হইতে পারেন একমাত্র স্নানোতি বার।

বিভাষাই কারণবিশেষে সাধারণ নিয়ম হইতে ভ্রষ্ট হইয়া। এখন এমন একটা স্থানে আসিয়া দাঁড়াইয়াছে যে এ সম্বন্ধে ঠিক কোনো নিয়ম বাঁধিতে পারা যায় না।

৭৬। অতি পূর্বে প্রাচীন বৈদিক ভাষায় মোট চারিটি মাত্র সন্ধ্যাক্ষর ছিল। তাহার পর ক্রমশ সংস্কৃতে দুইটি মাত্র (ঐ, ঔ) দাঁড়াইল। পালি-প্রাকৃতে আবার স্নে দুইটিও গেল; ইহাতে সংস্কৃতির ঐ-ঔ'র স্থান অধিকার করিল যথাক্রমে এ, অ ই; আর ও, অ উ। এ সমস্ত আমরা দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি। পালি-প্রাকৃতেও কিছু গতি ক্ষিয় গেল। সন্ধ্যাক্ষরের সংখ্যা প্রাদেশিক ভাষা-সমূহে ক্রমশই বাড়িয়া উঠিতে লাগিল। ইহাও আমরা পূর্বে দেখিয়াছি। এখন আমাদের বাঙলায় কয়টি সন্ধ্যাক্ষর হইয়াছে তাহাই দেখিবার চেষ্টা করিয়া আজ আমরা বিদায় গ্রহণ করিব।

বাঙলায় বস্তুত এই কয়টি সন্ধ্যাক্ষর পাওয়া যায়। ১২২ যথা—

(১)

অকারাদি

- ১। (ক) অ+ই^{১২৩} = অ ই; যেমন, দ ই, স ই, ব ই।
- ২। (খ) অ+উ = অ উ; যেমন ব উ (< প্রা. র হু < সং. র ধু), ম উ (< প্রা. ম হু < সং. ম ধু)।
- ৩। (গ) অ+ও = অ ও; যেমন ল ও, হ ও, হ ওয়া।

(২)

আকারাদি

- ৪। (ক) আ+ই = আ ই; যেমন, না ই, পা ই, তা ই।
- ৫। (খ) আ+উ = আ উ; যেমন, লা উ, হা উ হা উ, দাউ-দা উ।
- ৬। (গ) আ+ও = আ ও; যেমন, দা ও, পা ও, চা ও।

১২২। দ্রষ্টব্য—হুনীতি বাবুর *Bengali Phonetics* pp. 16-17, ইনি এখানে আরো সূক্ষ্মভেদ করিয়াছেন।

১২৩। এরূপ স্থলে হ্রস্ব-দীর্ঘ উভয়ই বুঝিতে হইবে।

(৩)

ইকারাদি

৭। ই + উ = ই উ ;

যেমন, মি উ-মি উ, শি উ লী ।

(৪)

উকারাদি

৮। উ + ই = উ ই ;

যেমন, উ ই, রু ই, ভূ ই, হু ই ।

(৫)

একারাদি

৯। (ক) এ + ই = এ ই ; যেমন, এ ই, সে ই, নে ই ।

১০। (খ) এ + উ = এ উ ; যেমন, কে উ, ঢে উ, যে উ-যে উ ।

১১। (গ) এ + ও = এ ও ; যেমন, এ ও, সে ও, কে ও, দে ও যা ।

ও ই, ঐ, ঔ, এই তিনটিকেও অতিরিক্ত সন্ধ্যাকর বলিয়া মনে করিতে পারা যায়, কিন্তু বস্তুত ইহারা উল্লিখিত সন্ধ্যাকরেরই মধ্যে, কেবল আকৃতিটা ভিন্ন । ও ই, ঐ, ইহারা দুইটিই অ ই ভিন্ন কিছু নহে, উচ্চারণ করিয়া দেখিলেই বুঝা যাইবে । সং. দ ধি > ঞ্জী. দ হি > বা. দ ই । কেহ-কেহ লেখেন দ ই কেহ-কেহ বা লেখেন দৈ । আবার দ ই লিখিলেও উচ্চারণে তাহা আমাদের নিকট দো ই, অবশ্য এই ওকারটা হ্রস্বতম । এইরূপ ঔ বস্তুত অ উ । তাই কেহ লেখেন ব উ (= বউ), কেহ বা লেখেন বৌ । উচ্চারণে উভয়ই সমান ।

ইহা ছাড়া আ + ও = আও, যেমন কে ও ট, উচ্চারণে ক্রা ও ট । *

শ্রীবিষ্ণুশেখর ভট্টাচার্য্য ।

